CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

journal of the oriental institute

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Vol. XXXI] December 1981 [No. 2

Sarasvatīdevī
Kumārsambhavam—MS. of the Oriental Institute

Edited by
J. P. Thaker
DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Oriental Institute
BARODA

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Some Differences in the Jñānakarma-Samuccaya Approach of Bhartṛprapañca and Bhāskara—ARVIND SHARMA 113

Megha-Dūta : A Study in Biology—B. V. KOLHATKAR 117

Chandovilāsa of Poet Nandanandana—A Forgotten Work on Prosody—D. G. VEDIA 119

A Note on Cāṭa in the Dharmaśāstra Literature—SUSAN OLEKSIW 131

Civil Architecture as Reflected in the Gāhāsattasaī—SUNITI DUBLAY 135

Kerala's Contribution to Prakrit Literature—P. M. JOSEPH 141

Geographical Gleanings from Tantric Buddhist Manuscripts—D. C. BHATTACHARYYA 471

Amaramārkaṇḍeyaṁ—A Study—BHAGAVATPRASAD P. PANDYA 152

The Historicity of Rāma and Rāmāyaṇa : An Archaeological Approach—ARUNKUMAR 162

Sanskrit Evidence for the Presence of Arabs, Jews and Persians in Western India : CA. 700-1300—DAVID PINGREE 172

" Ancient Name of Kutch "—H. D. SANKALIA 183

Sindhi Surnames Ending in -Āṇī—YASHODHARA WADHWANI 185

Note on the Bhamodra Mohota Inscription of Droṇasiṁha : Year 183 P. R. SRINIVASAN 193

Kumbheśvara Temple at Kumbhāriā—HARIHAR SINGH 195

More about Go-Vijñāna—J. P. THAKER 202

Select Contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. JOSHI 210

Reviews 216

Acknowledgements 223

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XXXI, No. 2
December, 1981

SOME DIFFERENCES IN THE JÑĀNAKARMA-SAMUCCAYA APPROACH OF BHARTṚPRAPAÑCA AND BHĀSKARA

By

ARVIND SHARMA, Sydney (Australia)

I

Both Bhartṛprapañca[1] and Bhāskara[2] are belived to have espoused a form of *bhedābheda*. Both of them are also believed to have adopted an approach of *jñāna-karma-samuccaya*[3] towards *mokṣa*. In their philosophy, in general, they both differ from Śaṅkara.[4] The purpose of this paper is to indicate how they differ from each other in their understanding of *jñānakarmasamuccaya* as leading to *mokṣa*.

II

The general position of Bhartṛprapañca is closely related to the general *bhedābheda* position that Brahman undergoes real transformation in the process of manifestation but Bhartṛprapañca, in applying this idea to the *jīva* argues that :

> The limited self is a consequence of two transformations of Brahman, one the transformation of Brahman limited by ignorance into " pure "

1 See Dasgupta Surendranath, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 43.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8; Vol. II, p. 44.

4 See Hiriyanna M., *The Quest After Perfection* (Mysore : Kavyalaya Publishers, 1952), p. 76, fn. 1; Radhakrishnan S., *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 466; Dasgupta Surendranath, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 3-6; etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

jīva, the other the transformation of the " pure " *jīva* under the influence of attachment to habits into bound *jīva*. It follows that the road to liberation has two steps, first the cessation of the habits (which frees one from the circle of re-birth), second the cessation of ignorance, which gains one complete freedom. But even this complete freedom is only a union with the lower form of Brahman for Bhartṛprapañca, that form which is in its very nature a unity-in-difference. The path adopted by the Bhedābhedavādin is *jñānakarmasamuccaya*, a combination of action and knowledge: first one must practice an attitude of nonattachment to break the ties of unconscious habits, and then one can medidate in order to break the bonds of ignorance.[5]

The idea of habits which bind the self Bhartṛprapañca explains through a popular Indian notion : " This is the notion of *vāsanā*, literally ' fragrance, ' used regularly in Indian thought to refer to the unconscious traces or habits which bind a self. The very word ' *vāsanā* ' gives Bhartṛprapañca a metaphor to illustrate what binds the pure witness. Though not material, it is bound by unconscious habits which belong originally in the material world, just as the fragrance of a flower which belongs originally to the flower is distilled in oil. This beginningless attachment to habits makes the witness subject to the circle of birth and rebirth. That there are finite souls at all is a consequence of the ignorance which limits Brahman, dividing it into a plurality of limited selves (*jīvas*) ".[6]

The idea of ignorance Bhartṛprapañca relates to that of *avidyā*. " This is expressed by saying that, though *avidyā* is one, the internal organs (*antaḥkaraṇas*) are many. Brahman becomes the cosmic soul through the adjunct of *avidyā*, and it is split up into a manifold of *jīvas* through the different internal organs. The *jīvas* thus have two adjuncts. In Śaṁkara's *Advaita*, the second of these is traced to the first, so that they are conditioned ultimately by only one adjunct, viz. *avidyā* ".[7]

The position of Bhāskara is somewhat different on this point, as is clear from his gloss on *Brahmasūtra* 1.4.21, the gist of which is that " The individual

---

5 Potter Karl H., *op. cit.*, p. 156. M. Hiriyanna offers the following explanation for this doubling. " The adoption of this double attitude by Bhartṛprapañca towards the self makes his view better than the other views of universal release now commonly known. It avoids the solipsistic position of those that maintain the possibility of such release on the basis of one *jīva* alone, and explain the belief that there are many *jīvas* as purely a delusion. If to avoid this difficulty, the *jīva* is taken to be *in reality* but one, though *appearing* as many, we should be in the self-stultifying position that when one strives and attains *mokṣa*, all will be released : *Munir manute mūrkho mucyate*, as an old saying has it " (*op. cit.*, p. 76, fn. 2).

6 Potter Karl H., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

7 Hiriyanna M., *op. cit.*, p. 76, fn. 1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

souls are in reality not different from God; they are but his parts, as sparks of fire are the parts of fire; but it is the peculiarity of these parts of God, the souls, that though one with Him, they have been under the influence of ignorance, desires and deeds from beginningless time ".[8] As Bhāskara's gloss on *Brahma-sūtra* II.3.18, 22 and 23 further makes it clear, " This soul, in so far as it exists in association with ignorance, desires and deeds, is atomic in nature; and just as a drop of sandal paste may perfume all the place about it, so does the atomic soul, remaining in one place, animate the whole body. It is by nature endowed with consciousness, and it is only with reference to the knowledge of other objects that it has to depend on the presence of those aspects ".[9] It may also be added that " Its seat in the heart, and through the skin of the heart it is in touch with the whole body. But though in a state of bondage, under the influence of ignorance, etc., it is atomic, yet it is not ultimately atomic in nature, it is one with Brahman ".[10] This liberating knowledge of its true nature is to be achieved through a " combination (*samuccaya*) of knowledge (*jñāna*) and necessary ritualistic duties of life ". " Bhāskara admits that pure *karma* (ritualistic duties) cannot lead us to the highest perception of truth, the Brahman; yet knowledge (*jñāna*) combined with regular duties, i.e. *jñāna-samuccita-karma*, can lead us to our highest good, the realization of Brahman ".[11]

III

What, then, is the difference in Bhartṛprapañca's and Bhāskara's understanding of *jñāna-karma-samuccaya* ?

One may begin by pointing out wherein the difference does *not* lie. One is tempted to suggest that in the case of Bhartṛprapañca, *jñāna* may be seen as combating the ' first ' transformation of *jīva* through ignorance and *karma* as combating the ' second ' transformation of the *jīva* through *vāsanā*,[12] while in the case of Bhāskara no such staging is possible because it admits of only one transformation. But this would not be a correct representation of the differences. For even in the case of Bhartṛprapañca *both jñāna* and *karma* are needed at *both* the stages. For " Bhartṛprapañca recognized what is known as *pramāṇa-samuccaya*, by which it follows that the testimony of common experience is quite as valid as that of the Veda. The former vouches for the reality of variety and the latter for that of unity (as taught in the Upaniṣads). Hence the ultimate truth is *dvaitādvaita*. *Mokṣa*, or life's end, is conceived as being achieved in two stages—the first leading to *apavarga*, where *saṃsāra* is overcome through

8 Dasgupta Surendranath, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 6.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
12 This seems so logical that one wonders why this position wasn't actually assumed.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the overcoming of *āsaṅga*; and the second leading to Brahmahood through the dispelling of *avidyā*. *This means of reaching either stage is jñāna-karma-samuccaya,* which is a corollary on the practical side to *pramāṇa-samuccaya* on the theoretical side ".[13]

The difference between the two *bhedābhedins* lies in the fact that while liberation in the case of Bhāskara involves the one step, in the case of Bhartṛprapañca it involves two steps as in the latter's system the *jīva* is twice removed from *Brahman* whereas in the case of the former it stands at one remove.

The soteriological significance of the double stages in Bhartṛprapañca is potentially of great significance and neatly accounts for divergence from Bhāskara. For neither Bhāskara nor Bhartṛprapañca seem to allow for *jīvanmukti*. But while in the case of Bhāskara this is not possible because " so long as the body remains as a result of previous *karmas*, the duties assigned to the particular stage of life (*āśramas*) to which the man belongs have to be performed ".[14] But in the case of Bhartṛprapañca there can be no *jīvanmukti* for another reason. The soteriology of Bhartṛprapañca involves the notion of *sarvamukti*[15] or universal liberation and how can one *jīva* achieve living liberation of liberation cannot " obviously result with the effort in that direction of the last *jīva* is successful ".[16]

---

13 Dasgupta Surendranath, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 44, emphasis added. Since this point is crucial, the testimony of M. Hiriyanna may be added to that of Surendranath Dasgupta : " A necessary corollary to this view is that the achievement of the final ideal requires a twofold discipline. The first part of it is for overcoming narrow attachment (*āsaṅga*), which is the source of man's wrong belief that he is essentially different from others. He shoule therefore first rise from this false belief to a consciousness of the underlying unity of all. *And the means to it is devotion to social morality and meditation* on the truth that there is but one soul, thoguh it shows itself as manifold. It is the conviction that the souls are many and are only externally related to one another that is the source of much, if not all, moral evil. When that conviction is replaced by the contrary one that they are but the same, the moral evil practically disappears. It is only when this unity of all the selves has been realised, not only in thought but also in fact, and man has shaken off the burden of a separate self that he will be able to work for the further and final ideal of spiritual freedom. If we start with the notions of matter, finite selves, the cosmic soul and the infinite spirit, we may say that the object of the preliminary training is to realize the ultimate oneness of all finite selves with the cosmic soul. The aim of the second part of the discipline is the realisation of the ultimate unity of all Being, including matter, and of that Being as the infinite spirit. *The discipline of the second stage also consists in work and meditation*; but it is not necessary to enter into further details. It will suffice to observe that a person, who has experienced his identity with the cosmic soul, will necessarily be actuated by universal love, and that, there being nothing to disquiet him except the consciousness that there are others who have yet to realize the same identity, his main concern then will be to assist them in doing so " (*op. cit.*, p. 77, emphasis added).

14 Dasgupta Surendranath, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 10-11.

15 Hiriyanna M., *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

MEGHA-DŪTA : A STUDY IN BIOLOGY*

By

B. V. KOLHATKAR, Kolhapur

A good poet and a scientist have one thing in common; keen observation of natural facts. Of course, they differ in the treatment of these factual observations. *Meghadūta* which is considered to be very poetic in form is so rich in the observation of facts that deprived of the poetic colour, the statement of these facts may give a fairly scientific idea of the advent of rainy season.

Human :—Intense desire to meet one's mate. This emotion is the first thing that we meet in the poem. In fact, this desire promted the *Yakṣa* to send *Megha* as a *Dūta* and vicariously prompted *Kālidāsa* to write a masterpiece. This faculty of *Megha* is stated in the following verse :

तस्य स्थित्वा कथमपि पुरः कौतुकाधानहेतोः
अन्तर्बाष्पः चिरमनुचरः राजराजस्य दध्यौ ।
मेघालोके भवति सुखिनोऽप्यन्यथावृत्ति चेतः
कण्ठाश्लेषप्रणयिनि जने किं पुनर्दूरसंस्थे ॥ ३ ॥

Here, the word *Kautukādhānahetoḥ* and the final couplet are significant from this point of view. This is also echoed in the verse—*Tvāmārūḍham pavanapadavīm* etc. This trait, we will meet again in the animal behaviour.

Agriculture : One strictly human aspect is agriculture. Agriculture is closely related to rainy season. Kālidāsa refers to it once in :

त्वय्यायत्तं कृषिफलमिति भ्रूविलासानभिज्ञैः
प्रीतिस्निग्धैः जनपदवधूलोचनैः पीयमानः ।
सद्यः सीरोत्कषणसुरभि क्षेत्रमारुह्य मालम्
किंचिद् पश्चाद् व्रज लघुगतिर्भूय एवोत्तरेण ॥ १६ ॥

This verse shows the anxiety of farmers. In fact, the young and the old, man and woman are as anxious as the *Janapadavadhū* referred to by the poet. But, the poet in *Kālidāsa* prefers *brūvilāsānabhijñā Janapadavadhū* to all others.

Another natural fact here alluded to is the fragrance of a newly ploughed farm, at the advent of rains.

Animal life : Rainy season is the mating season of many animals. From personal discussions with some professors of Biology, I gathered that *Prakṛti* or nature is a very good mother, although a famous Marāṭhī poet describes *Nisarga* as *Nirghṛṇa*. Since rainy season followed by rich agricultural and other crop is ideal for the protection and the growth of all animals, nature selected it as a season of procreation.

---

* Paper read in the A.I.O.C. 29th Session June 1978 at Pune.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Birds : Poets from east and west speak highly of melodies of birds. According to biologists, they are calls for mating. In *Meghadūta*, Kālidāsa refers to the calls of *Cātaka* and *Mayūr*. He also refers to the mating of *Balākā*. Kālidāsa does not forget the migration of *Rājahaṁsas*.

Reference to these birds is no novelty in Sanskrit literature. But, what proves the merit of Kālidāsa as a bird watcher of the past is his reference to crows building their nests, though crow is a non-entity in poetry. We may not be aware that birds do not live in nests. Nests are built only for their eggs and the young-ones. Since the season of procreation co-incides with the rainy season, birds are busy building nests just before the season. Kālidāsa refers to it in *nīḍāraṁbhaiḥ gṛhabalibhujām ākulagrāmacaityaḥ*. I am sure, very few poets, with romantic temparament, dare refer to crow in their good poems. Further, I would like to point out that a crow is much dependant on human beings and is never seen away from human habitation, in forests. Hence, the significance of *gṛhabalibhujām* and *grāmacaityaḥ*.

Plant life : Kālidāsa alludes to many flowers which bloom only in rainy season. The mountains are fragrant with *Kakubha* flowers, the *Nīpa* flowers are just *Haritakapiśa*. The *Kandalī* are budding and the flowers of *Kadaṁba* are fully open.

We are seldom aware that fruits *Jaṁbū*, *Āmra* and *Kānana Uduṁbara* are ripe just before the rainy season. But, Kālidāsa knows it. So the famous line *madhye śyāmaḥ stana iva bhuvaḥ śeṣavistārapāṇḍuḥ* (V. 18.)

Animals : Of other animals Kālidāsa refers to the ichor (*mada*) of elephants and the *nābhigandha* of the *mṛgas*. These also are the traits of the mating season.

Of other natural phenomena, Kālidāsa refers to the *bāṣpamocana* of mountains at the first meeting with rains, *megha* as an extinguisher of the wild-fire, and the rainbow, along with fragrant earth. All these things are visible at the beginning of the rainy season.

There may be few more observations by Kālidāsa which I might have missed. What I am interested in bringing home is that great poets like Kālidāsa were always particular about the truthful descriptions of natural facts. Here, I would like to refer to one verse in *Uttaramegha*. To show the difference between the Heaven and the earth Kālidāsa describes that flowers blooming in different seasons on earth were simultaneously present in *Alakānagarī*. We may profitably read the comments of *Mallinātha* on this verse. The verse is *Haste līlākamalam* etc.

We appreciate the work of Salim Ali a famous bird watcher. So we need not hesitate to give Kālidāsa his due place as nature-watcher on the strength of his *Pūrvamegha*. These observations may also be important in reconstructing the history of natural sciences in India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CHANDOVILĀSA OF POET NANDANANDANA—A FORGOTTEN WORK ON PROSODY*

By

D. G. VEDIA, Modasa (S.K)

The source of Nala-Damayantī episode can be traced to Vedic antiquity, as it is mentioned in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*. Vyāsa has evolved it in *Nalopākhyāna* which was narrated by Bṛhadaśva to Yudhiṣṭhira in *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. This most popular episode has attracted many poets. *Naiṣadhacaritaṁ* of Śrīharṣa is the most noteworthy among all works based on *Nalopākhyāna*. *Naiṣadhacaritaṁ* also attracted many poets to imitate it. *Uttaranaiṣadhaṁ* of Vandaru Bhaṭṭa is a supplementary work to the famous poem *Naiṣadhacaritaṁ*. Vidyādhara and Lakṣmaṇa have imitated it in *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ*, since Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has referred to this poem in the report on the research of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay presidency. But, it was wrongly entered there. Dr. A. N. Jani refers to *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ* of Nandanandana, a manuscript of which lies with the Anupasinhaji library of Bikanera (No. 101).

Nandanandana composed a poem '*Pratinaiṣadhaṁ*' in Sam. 1708 (1632 A.D.) during the reign of Shahjahana, a famous Moghul emperor. The poet himself has written a commentary '*Bhāvārthadyotanikā*' on *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ*. The commentary is available upto the tenth canto and part of the succeeding one (No. 102).

These manuscripts of *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ* and its commentary are said to be collected by the king Anupasinhaji of Bikanera (1674-1709 A.D. Sam. 1726-1755) who was born in Sam. 1695 during the conquest of South India by the Moghul emperor Aurangzeb, as tradition says.

The poet Nandanandana has mentioned the names of his parents at the end of every canto :

यं कृष्णा समजीजनद्बुधकविं नन्दाभिधं चार्जुना-
बिद्वद्वृन्द (× × ×) वेद्यचरणद्वन्द्वात्सुतं भर्तृतः ।
तेनास्मिन् निषधेन्दुसुन्दरकथा कं (दा ?) कृतेयं महा-
काव्येऽगात्प्रथमः शुभार्थसुभगश्लोकोऽथ सर्गो महान् ॥ (I. 158)
लेभे पण्डितमण्डलीवरयशाः धीरोऽर्जुनो यं सुतं
देवीतो जनकस्सुनन्दनकविं कृष्णाभिधा च प्रसूः ।

---

* This article was submitted under the title "Pratinaiṣadhaṁ—A tricky Poem" to All India Oriental conference, 29th Session held at Poona, on 1-3 June, 1978.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अस्मिंस्तेन कृते विदर्भसुतादाढ्याभिधोऽयं महा-
काव्ये प्राप समाप्तिमद्भुतरसे षष्ठोऽपि सर्गो महान् ॥ (VI. 138)

Such last verses of the cantos show that he was the son of Arjuna who was famous among the scholars. The name of his mother was Kṛṣṇā. He calls his father Arjunamiśra in the last verse of the second canto where he said that he was born by the grace of Lord Śiva (श्रीमानर्जुनमिश्र आप शिवतो माता च कृष्णाभिधा). The poet is proud of his poetic skill (प्रसादकविताविस्मापितप्राज्ञकम् । IV. 134).

The poet declares in his commentary that besides these two works, he has composed some other works which are referred to in the commentary '*Bhāvārthadyotanikā*' on *Pratinaiṣadham*. Those works are :

1. *Chandovilāsa :* a work on prosody. Many definitions are mentioned in the commentary.
2. *Śivastava :* a stotra. The verse from this poem is referred to as an example of harsh syllabic composition.
3. *Ravikulacaritavarṇana :* In this poem the poet might have imitated *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa. A verse from this poem is referred to as an example of *Arthavyakti*.

All these three works are not referred to anywhere. Some scattered definitions from *Chandovilāsa* can be gathered from the commentary. The study of such definitions leads us to the conclusion that the poet might have imitated *Chandomañjari* of Gaṅgādāsa, *Śrutabodha* of Kālidāsa, and *Vṛttaratnākara*. He has given some definitions from *Piṅgalasūtra*. Sometimes he has adopted the style of *Śrutabodha*. Here are some examples :—

1. बोध्या कान्ते मभसगयुक्तात्रारप्या सा कविजनेन मता । (VI. 72).
2. विशिखयतिस्त्वरितगतिर्नजनगिनी मृदुपदिनि । (VI. 73).
3. नरजगायुता मनोरमे ननु भवेन्मनोरमाभिधा । (VI. 74).
4. पीनोरसिजे तजजलायुतं धीरा ब्रुवते ननु मोटनम् (VI. 79).

In the sixth canto he starts giving instances of the metres in a particular manner from the verse 42 which show that either the poet intends to give a chapter on prosody or he intends to supply instances for his work *Chandovilāsa*. The poet gives the definitions from his work along with the definitions from other works on prosody such as *Piṅgalasūtra, Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa, *Śrutabodha, Vṛttaratnākara*. He declares that various metres in the sixth canto are attractive (विलसन्ति वसन्तमिश्रभाः निजकाव्येषु दधत्यमून्). Here in this paper an attempt is made to show that the poet has discussed equal syllabic metres in the sixth canto.

Generally, he uses famous metres in other cantos. But here like Bhāravi (canto III) and Māgha (canto IV) the poet has used various metres. In the first 41 verses, we do not find any order. He has used there the following metres:

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Mālinī—v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 39; *Indravajrā*—v. 8, 9; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*—v. 6, 7, 10, 11; *Hariṇī*—v. 3; *Drutavilambita*—v. 14, 37; *Jaloddhatagati*—v. 16; *Candravartma*—v. 17, 18, 19; *Praharṣiṇī*—v. 20, 26; *Bhramaravilasita*—v. 21; *Dodhaka*—v. 22; *Puṣpitāgrā*—v. 23; *Vidyunmālā*—v. 24; *Vātormi*—v. 25; *Māṇavaka*—v. 27; *Indravaṁśā*—v. 28; *Līlākhela*—v. 29; *Maṇiguṇanikara*—v. 30; *Srak*—v. 31; *Pramitākṣarā*—v. 32; *Mandākinī*—v. 33; *Tāmarasa*—v. 34; *Kusumavicitra*—v. 35; *Bhujaṅgaprayāta*—v. 36; *Mattamayūra*—v. 36; *Mālatī*—v. 38; *Rucirā*—v. 40 and *Maṇimālā* —v. 41.

The story of the sixth canto runs thus. Nala visits *Kuṇḍinapura* after having accepted god's proposal to be their messenger (v. 1-14). He was much pleased on seeing the beautiful ladies of the harem (v. 15-39). Then the lovelorn condition of those ladies on seeing Nala is described (v. 40, 41). When Nala entered the harem, he saw the lady messengers of the gods conveying the message of the gods and requesting to marry any god instead of Nala. But Damayantī was very firm. Damayantī became more firm, as the messengers tried more and more. Consequently the root of love towards Nala was cemented in the heart of Damayantī.

With the narration of this story the poet uses various metres beginning with *Śrī* i.e. one long syllabic metre in a quarter. Let us see a few instances of the beginning :

V. 42. *Śrī* : आसीत् । सा श्रीः ॥
V. 43. *Strī* : बिम्बस्तस्य । स्त्रीभिर्दृष्टः ॥
V. 44. *Nārī* : आश्लिष्टो दृश्यत्वात् । तत्रासीन्नारीभिः ॥
V. 45. *Mṛgī* : दुःखमल्यन्वभूत् । भीमजायोगतः ॥
V. 46. *Kanyā* : भैमीयोगाभावात्खिन्नः । वारं वारं विश्रेमे सः ॥
V. 47. *Pratiṣṭhā* : अम्भोजदले दृष्टा लिखिता । हंसेन यथा हंसेन तथा ॥
V. 48. ,, : भीमतनयां भीमतनयाम् । ऐक्षत स तां भूपतिपतिः ॥

The situation of *Tārāmaitraka* is described upto v. 57. The reflection of Nala in jewel necklaces of the ladies and Damayantī pleased them.

मृगनयनानां नृपतरुणीनाम् । मणिगतबिम्बो मुदमकरोत् ॥ (v. 58)
तत्सा तनुमध्या नालं वपुरैक्षि । भैमीवरशोभं स्वीये मणिहारे ॥ (v. 59)

All the ladies were astonished to see Nala's reflection in the pearls, diamonds and jewels of the necklaces and walls (v. 61, 62). Damayantī also was astonished to see the reflection :

मालां तामथ बुद्ध्वा दृश्यत्वं दधती सा ।
आश्चर्यं परमाप क्ष्मालोकेश्वरपुत्री ॥ (v. 64)
काञ्चन कुट्टिमदेशे तथ्य नलपरिरम्भान् ।
चित्रपदा नृपजापि प्राप्य दधावनृतां भीम् ॥ (v. 65)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The union and separation of the reflections of Nala and Damayantī are described in the *Maṇimadhya* and *Pramāṇikā* metres :

तौ तदा परस्परं तु चक्रतुर्विलिङ्गनानि ।
भीमजानलौ तथाभितध्यबुद्धिमीयतुर्न ॥ (v. 66)
तयोस्तदा ससंगतिः परस्परं मुहुर्मुहुः ।
स्मरागमप्रमाणिका क्षणेक्षणक्षणक्षणा ॥ (v. 67)

Nala's condition became love-lorn (v. 70, 71). The mental state of Damayantī's friends is narrated through alliteration (v. 68-80). Then the lady messengers convey the message (v. 85 onwards). But all their efforts were in vain.

The poet has delineated the names of some metres along with the narration of the story. Here are the names of such metres : *Jaloddhatagati* (v. 15), *Candravartma* (v. 18), *Praharṣiṇī* (v. 19), *Mattamayūrakrīḍā* (v. 36), *Śrī* (v. 42), *Strī* (v. 43), *Nārī* (v. 44), *Paṅktī* (v. 48), *Tanumadhyā* (v. 59), *Citrapadā* (v. 65), *Pramāṇikā* (v. 67), *Manoramā* (v. 74), *Sumukhī* (v. 75), *Vātormi* (v. 76), *Bhramaravilasitā* (v. 77), *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* (v. 83), *Kalahaṁsa* (v. 86), *Mṛgendramukha* (v. 88), *Vasantatilakīyakulaṁ* i.e. *Vasantatilakā* (v. 90), *Cakitā* (v. 102), *Bhārākrāntā* (v. 112), *Nandanam* (v. 114), *Citralekhā* (v. 116), *Śārdūlalalitaṁ* (v. 117), *Suvadanā* (v. 122), *Sarasī* (v. 126), and *Mādhavikādyarasaṁ* i.e. *Madirā* (v. 129).

As a commentator Nandanandana discusses the metres in a scientific way as Gaṅgādāsa does in *Chandomañjarī*. It is interesting to note that in this canto the poet refers to only equal syllabic metres. He gives the definitions of the metres from his work on prosody i.e. *Chandovilāsa* as well as from *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa. In a few instances he gives the definitions from *Piṅgalasūtra*. It is also noteworthy that the classifications of the metres such as *Ukthā*, *Atyukthā* seem to be faulty. Perhaps, it may be the errors of the scribe. It is also worthy to be noted that he has not discussed all the metres of *Chandomañjarī*.

I give below the definitions along with the names and their *gaṇas* or the syllabic groups :

I. *Ukthā* : Same as *Cm.* (*Chandomañjarī*). One syllable in a quarter i.e. Gā.

1. *Śrī :* v. 42. Def. गेन । श्रीः स्यात् ॥

II. *Udukthā : Atyukthā* acc. to *Cm.* Two long syllables in a quarter.

1. *Strī :* v. 43. Def. गाभ्यां युक्ता । कान्ते स्त्री स्यात् ॥ Gā Gā.

III. *Vṛtta Atyuktha : Madhyā* acc. to *Cm.* Three syllables in a quarter.

1. *Nārī :* v. 44. Def. धीराभ्यैः । मेनोक्तम् ॥ 'Mā'
2. *Mṛgī :* v. 45. Def. स्यान्मृगीलोचने । सा मृगी रेण भोः ॥ 'Ra'.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

IV. *Vṛtta Madhyā :* *Pratiṣṭhā* acc. to *Cm.* Four syllables in a quarter.

1. *Kanyā :* v. 45. Def. कन्या गमाभ्याम् । Gā Ma.

V. *Pratiṣṭhā :* *Supratiṣṭhā* acc. to *Cm.* There are five varieties of this *Vṛtta* according to Piṅgala. Nandanandana gives five verses of different types. Here, we find five syllables in a quarter.

1. V. 47. No name of metre is given. Ta La Gā.
2. V. 48. No name of metre is given. Bha La Gā.
3. *Paṅkti :* v. 49 : Bha Gā Gā.
   Def. मेन गेयुग्मात्येन तु पङ्क्तिः ।
4. *Priyā :* v. 50. Sa La Gā : Def. सलगैर्भवेद्द्वयिते प्रिया ।
5. V. 57 : No definition is given either from *Chandomañjarī* or *Chandovilāsa.* It is '*Sammoha*' according to Piṅgala.

VI. No name of this *Vṛtta* is mentioned. But, it may be *Supratiṣṭhā* according to the poet and *Gāyatrī* according to *Cm.* Here, we find six syllables in a quarter.

1. *Supratiṣṭhā :* v. 51. Ta Ra : This is '*Khaṇḍa*' metre according to Piṅgala. No definition is given by the poet.
2. ——— : v. 52. Sa Sa : This is *Khaṇḍalaya* according to Piṅgala. The poet has given neither name nor definition.
3. V. 53. This is *Candramālā* according to Piṅgala. No definition is given by the poet.
4. *Somarājī :* v. 54. Ya Ya. Def. भवेद्यद्वयेन प्रिये सोमराजी ।
5. V. 55. Ta Ta. No name of the metre is given.
6. V. 56. This is *Vijjohākhya* metre according to Piṅgala. The poet does not refer to any definition.
7. *Śaśivadanā :* v. 58. Na Ya. Def. शशिवदनाख्या नयसहिता स्यात् ।
8. *Tanumadhyā :* v. 59. Ta Ya. Def. मुग्धे तययुक्ता सा तनुमध्या ।

VII. *Vṛtta Gāyatrī :* *Uṣṇik* acc. to *Cm.* Seven syllables in a quarter.

1. V. 60. Neither definition nor name is given by the poet. 'Na Ja La'.
2. V. 61. The poet does not give either definition or name. 'Ma Ma'.
3. *Madhumatī :* v. 62. Na Na Gā. Def. सुदति मधुमति भवति च ननगैः ।
4. *Kumāralalitā :* v. 63. Ja Sa Gā.
   Def. भवेत्तु जसगैस्सा कुमारललिताख्या ।
5. *Madalekhā :* v. 64. Ma Sa Gā.
   Def. संप्रोक्ता मदलेखा धीराम्यैर्मसगैः सा ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

VIII. *Vṛtta Uṣṇik :* *Anuṣtup* acc. to *Cm.* Eight syllables in a quarter.

1. *Citrapadā :* v. 65. Bha Bha Gā Gā.
   Def. स्यादयि तन्वि भभगैस्सा ननु चित्रपदाख्या ।
2. *Samānikā :* v. 66. Ra Ja Gā La or Gā La Ra Ja acc. to *Cm.*
   Def. .. .. यदा तदा तु स्यात्समानिका सखि ।
3. *Pramāṇikā :* v. 67. Ja Ra La Gā. No definition is given.

IX. *Vṛtta Anuṣtus* (p) : *Bṛhatī* acc. to *Cm* Nine syllables in a quarter.

1. *Bujaṅgaśiśuyutā :* v. 68. Na Na Ma.
   Def. ननमविधरिणा स्त स्याद् भुजङ्गशिशुयुता ।
2. *Maṇimadhyā :* v. 69. Bha Ma Sa.
   Def. प्रोदितमेतद्वै भमसैस्तन्मणिमध्याख्यं विबुधैः ।
3. *Bhujaṅgasaṅgatā :* v. 70. Sa Ja Ra.
   Def. ——— दयिते भुजङ्गसङ्गता सजरैर्भवेत्कविप्रिये ।

X. *Vṛtta Bṛhatī :* *Paṅkti* acc. to *Cm.* Ten syllables in a quarter.

1. *Ṛkmavatī :* v. 71. Bha Ma Sa Gā. This metre is known as *Campakamālā* also.
   Def. ——— यत्र सुनेत्रे रुक्मवती प्रोक्ता विबुधैस्सा ।
2. *Mattā :* v. 72. Ma Bha Sa Gā.
   Def. बोध्या कान्ते मभसयुक्ता(गा) (य)त्राख्या सा कविजनेन मत्ता ।
3. *Tvaritagati* : v. 73. Na Ja Na Gā.
   Def. विशिखयतिस्त्वरितगतिर्नजनगिनी मृदुपदिनि ।
4. *Manoramā* : v. 74. Na Ra Ja Gā.
   Def. नरजगायुता मनोरमे ननु भवेन्मनोरमाभिधा ।

XI. *Vṛtta Paṅkti :* *Triṣṭup* acc. to *Cm.* Eleven syllables in a quarter.

1. *Sumukhī :* v. 75. Na Ja Ja La Gā.
   Def. सुमुखि बुधैः सुमुखी कथिता नजजलगैः शरशास्त्रयतिरिति ।
2. *Vātormi :* v. 76. Ma Bha Ta Gā Gā.
   Def. म्भौ तौ गश्चेत्कथिता पण्डिताम्यैर्वातोर्म्याख्या हरिणलोलनेत्रे ।
3. *Bhramaravilasitā* : v. 77. Ma Bha Na La Gā. It is same as Ma Gā Na Na Na Gā of *Cm.*
   Def. मुग्धे सा स्यान्मगननगयुता वेदैर्वारैः भ्रमरविलसिता ।
4. *Anukūlā :* v. 78. Bha Ta Na Gā Gā.
   Def. (भ्तनगयुक्ता) स्यादनुकूला ।
5. *Moṭanam :* v. 79. Ta Ja Ja La Gā.
   Def. पीनोरसिजे तजजलगयुतं धीरा ब्रुवते ननु मोटनम् ।
6. *Śyena :* v. 80. Ra Ja Ra La Gā.
   Def. पण्डितैरथोदितोऽयमीदृशो श्येनोऽसौ रजौ रलौ गसंयुतौ ।
7. *Śālinī :* v. 128. Ma Ta Ta Gā. The poet does not give definition in his commentary on the verse.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

XII. *Vṛtta Triṣṭup : Jagatī* acc. to *Cm.* Twelve syllables in a quarter.

1. *Vaiśvadevī :* v. 81. Ma Ma Ya Ya.
   Def. मौ यौ स्यातां चेद्वैश्वदेवी शराश्वैः ।
2. *Jaladharamālā :* v. 82. Ma Bha Sa Ma.
   Def. म्भौ स्मौ चेज्जलधरमाला..... ।
3. *Dṛtavilambita :* v. 83. Na Bha Bha Ra
   Def. नभभरैर्द्रुतविलम्बितमीरितम् । (Com. on VI. 14).

XIII. *Vṛtta Jagatī : Atijagatī* acc. to *Cm.* Thirteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Mañjubhāṣiṇī :* v. 83. Sa Ja Sa Ja Gā.
   Def. मञ्जुभाषिणी कथिता बुधैस्सजसजैर्गसंयुतैर्मृगलोचनेऽयि मञ्जुभाषिणी ।
2. *Candrikā :* v. 85. Na Na Ta Ta Gā.
   Def. भवति नननतैर्गेन सा चन्द्रिका ।
3. *Kalahaṁsa :* v. 86. Sa Sa Ja Sa Gā.
   Def. विबुधैः स्स्जसद्वितयगैः कलहंसः कलहंस वा(णि) गदितः करभोरु ।
4. *Prabodhitā :* v. 87. Sa Ja Sa Ja Gā. Seems same as *Mañjubhāṣiṇī.*
   Def. सजसज्गिनी बुधवरैः प्रबोधिताभिधिनी विनीतिनिपुणैः प्रबोधिते ।
5. *Mṛgendramukha (vaktra) :* v. 88. Na Ja Ja Ra Gā.
   Def. नजजरगैश्च भवेन्मृगेन्द्रवक्त्रम् ।

XIV. *Vṛtta Jagatī : Śarkarī* acc. to *Cm.* (*Śakvarī ?*). Fourteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Asaṁvādī :* v. 89. Ma Gā Gā Na Na Ma. *Asaṁbādha* acc. to *Cm.*
   Def. म्गौगनाः न्मश्चेत्स्युर्विशिखनवभिराप्रोक्ता सासंवाद्याख्या विबुधवरकुलश्रेष्ठैः ।
2. *Vasantatilakā :* v. 90. Ta Bha Ja Ja Gā Gā. This is *Siṁhoddhatā*: क्वापि सिंहोद्धताभिधम् ।
3. *Aparājitā :* v. 91. Na Na Ra Sa La Gā.
   Def. तुरगकृतयतिर्भवेदपराजिता ननरसलगिनी सुपीनपयोधरे ।
4. *Praharaṇakalikā :* v. 92. Na Na Bha Na La Gā.
   Def. विबुधवरनिकरैर्ननभनलगिति प्रहरणकलिका ।
5. *Vāsantī :* v. 93. Ma Ta Na Ma Gā Gā.
   Def. सा स्याद्वासन्ती मतनमगैर्गेनापीया ।
6. *Lolā :* v. 94. Ma Sa Ma Bha Gā Gā.
   Def. म्सौ म्भौ गौ यदि साऽश्वारामा स्यान्ननु लोला ।
7. *Nāndīmukhī :* v. 95. Na Na Ta Ta Gā Gā.
   Def. नननतगगिनी सा तु नान्दीमुखी स्यात् ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

XV. *Vṛtta Śaṅkarī* : *Atiśarkarī* acc. to *Cm.* This is *Atiśakvarī* Fifteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Vipinalatikā* : v. 96. Na Sa Na Ra Ra.
   Def. विपिनलतिकं नसनररवत्कथितमेतदग्र्यैर्बुधैर्विपिनतिलकं हरिणसुन्दरलोचने ।
2. *Tūṇaka* : v. 97. Ra Ja Ra Ja Ra.
   Def. रेण जेन रेण जेन रेण तूणकं भवेत् ।
3. *Candralekhā* : v. 98. Ma Ra Ma Ya Ya.
   Def. कान्ते सा चन्द्रलेखा चेन्म्रौ मयौ यस्तदा ।
4. *Vicitrā* : *Citrā* acc. to *Cm.* v. 99. Ma Ma Ma Ya Ya.
   Def. मो मो मो यो यश्चेद्यत्र स्यात् सोक्ता विचित्रा ।

XVI. *Vṛtta Śaṅkarī* (*Śakvarī* ?). *Aṣṭi* acc. to *Cm.* Sixteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Citraṁ* : v. 100. Ra Ja Ra Ja Ra La.
   Def. रेण जेन रेण जेन रेण लेन चित्रमेतदीरितं बुधोज्जयैश्चलच्चमूरुलोचने ।
2. *Ṛṣabhagajavilasitaṁ* : The definition shows the name as *Gajaturagavilasitaṁ* : v. 101. Bha Ra Na Na Na Gā.
   Def. (– – –)दिदं तु तन्वि गजतुरगविलसितं
   धीरविलासदं भरनननगविघटितम् ।
3. *Cakitā* : v. 102. Bha Sa Ma Ta Na Gā.
   Def. भ्सम्तनगयुता प्रोक्ता सेयं कामिनि चकितेति ।
4. *Madanalalitā* : v. 103. Ma Bha Na Ma Na Gā.
   Def. श्रुत——मभनमनगैः पीनस्तनयुगे
   सा विज्ञेया मदनललिता काव्येषु महिता ।
5. *Vājinī* (*Vāṇinī* ?) : v. 104. Na Ja Bha Ja Ra Gā
   Def. भवति वाजिनी (वाणिनी ?) नजभजरैर्गसंयुतैस्सा ।
6. *Pravaralalitā* : v. 105. Ya Ma Na Sa Ra Gā.
   Def. यमनैः सगैस्तत्स्यात्प्रवरललिताख्यं सुललितम् ।
7. *Caladhṛti* : v. 106. Na Na Na Na Na La.
   Def. श्रुतियतिरथ नननननलविघटितचलधृतिरिह बुधजनहति कथयति ।
8. *Garuḍarutaṁ* : v. 107. Na Ja Bha Ja Ta Gā.
   Def. नजभजतैः सगैर्भवति तत्कवीनां प्रियं
   गरुडरुताभिधं शररसेषुभिस्सुन्दरि ।

XVII. *Vṛtta Aṣṭi* : *Atyaṣṭi* acc. to *Cm.* Seventeen syllables in a quarter

1. *Vaṁśapatrapatitaṁ* : v 108. Bha Ra Na Bha Na La Gā.
   Def. भ्रनभनलग्वन्निगदितं वरधिषणवरैस्तन्वि तु वंशपत्रपतितं दिगृषियतियुतम् ।
2. *Nardaṭa* (*ka*) : v. 109. Na Ja Bha Ja Ja La Gā.
   Def. नजभजजलैः सगैर्भवति नर्दटाख्याम् ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

3. *Kokilam* : According to its definition it is called *Kokilakalam* : v. 110. Na Ja Bha Ja Ra La Gā.

Def. तुरगरसार्णवैर्न्जभजर्लगवत् कोकिलकलम् ।

4. *Hāriṇī* : v. 111. Ma Bha Na Ma Ya La Gā.

Def. एषा सा स्यात् श्रुतिरसहयैर्म्भर्नम्मैः यगैर्हारिणी ।

5. *Bhārākrāntā* : v. 112. Ma Bha Na Ra Sa La Gā.

Def. वेद (– – –) श्वैर्म्भनरसलगैर्बुधावलिपालकैः
भाराक्रान्ता कमलनयने तु सा परिकथ्यते ।

XVIII. *Vṛtta Atyaṣṭi* : *Dhṛti* acc. to *Cm.* Eighteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Kusumalatāvellitam* : v. 113. Ma Ta Na Ya Ya Ya.

Def. म्तौ न्यौ यौ चेत् स्यात् कुसुमलतावेल्लितेष्वागमाश्चैरिति ।

2. *Nandanam* : v. 114. Na Ja Bha Ja Ra Ra.

Def. हरतुरगैर्न्जभजरयुतं प्रिय भवेन्नन्दनम् ।

3, *Nārāca* : v. 115. Na Na Ra Ra Ra Ra.

Def. ननररररयुक्तमेतत्तु नाराचमाकीर्तितम् ।

4. *Citralekhā* : v. 116. Ma Bha Na Ya Ya Ya. But, according to *Cm.* it consists of Na Bha Na La Ta Ta Gā Gā.

Def. प्रोक्ता धीरैर्मभनययिनी बालिके चित्रलेखा ।

5. *Śārdūlalalitam* : v. 117. Ma Sa Ja Sa Ta Sa.

Def. म्साभ्यां तत् जसतसैः रसद्वयरसैः शार्दूललितम् ।

XIX *Vṛtta Dhṛti* : *Atidhṛti* acc. to *Cm.* Nineteen syllables in a quarter.

1. *Meghavisphūrjitam* : v. 118. Ya Ma Na Sa Ra Ra Gā.

Def. यथा षडङ्गवद्भिः स्यात् यमनसररगैर्मेघविस्फूर्जिता ।

2. *Chāyā* : v. 119. Ya Ma Na Sa Ra Ra Gā.

Def. इयं प्रोक्ता छाया यमनसततगैः सूर्याब्धिविश्रामिनी ।

3. *Surasā* : v. 120. Ma Ra Bha Na Ya Na Gā.

Def. म्रभ्नयनैर्गेन च स्यान्मुनिजलधिरसैः सा तु सुरसा ।

4. *Phulladāmā* : v. 121. Ma Ta Na Sa Ra Ra Gā. But, according to *Cm.* : 'Ma Gā Gā Na Na Ta Ta Gā Gā'! Actually there is no difference.

Def. वारणाश्वाश्वैः स्यान्मतनसररगैः फुल्लदामाभिधानम् ।

XX. *Kṛti* : (according to *Cm*). No name of *Vṛtta* is mentioned by the poet. Twenty syllables in a quarter.

1. *Suvadanā* : v. 122. Ma Ra Bha Na Ya Bha La Gā.

Def. म्रभ्नचभलगैर्हयाश्वागमयतिसहिता सा तु स्यात् सुवदना ।

2. *Gītikā* : v. 123. Sa Ja Ja Bha Ra Ra Sa La Gā.

Def. सजजभ्रसलगयुत। भवेन्नु गीतिका विधिखायतिः ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

3 *Vṛtta* : v. 124. Ra Ja Ra Ja Ra Ja Gā Gā. Last syllable is La according to *Cm*.

Def. स्याद्रजर्जरैर्जगागुरुयुतैस्तु वृत्तसंज्ञमम्बुजाक्षि ।

4. *Śobhā* : v. 125. Ya Ma Na Na Ta Ta Gā Gā. Same as Ya Ma Na Na Gā Ra Ra Gā according to *Cm*.

Def. रसैः शोभावारैर्यमननतसगैश्चलोल्लासितमूर्ता(र्तिः ?)

XXI. *Vṛtta Kṛtih* : *Prakṛtih* acc. to *Cm*. Twenty one syllables in a quarter.

1. *Sarasī* : v. 126. Na Ja Bha Ja Ja Ja Ra. This metre is known as '*Pañcakāvalī*' and '*Dhṛtaśrī*' also.

Def. नजभजजजिणी निगदिता बुधैस्सरसी नितम्बिनि ।

XXII. *Vṛtta Prakṛtih* : *Atikṛtih* acc. to *Cm*. Twenty two syllables in a quarter.

1. *Haṁsī* : v. 127. Ma Ma Ta Na Na Na Sa Gā acc. to *Cm*. Ma Gā Gā Na Na Na Na Gā Gā. But it does not make any difference.

Def. हंसी संज्ञा स्यादेषा ममतननसलगवरगणयुक्ता ।

2. *Madirā* : v. 129. Bha Bha Bha Bha Bha Bha Bha Gā.

Def. बाणविभीतचमूसविलोचनतामरसे विबुधाः ब्रुवते
भद्वयभद्वयभत्रयिणीं ननु तां मदिरादरिणी ( ) ।

XXIII. *Vṛtta Sukṛtih* : *Vikṛtih* acc. to *Cm*. Twenty three syllables in a quarter.

1. *Adritanayā* : v. 130. Na Ja Bha Ja Bha Ja Bha La Gā.

Def. केषांचिन्मतेऽश्वललिताभिधम् ।
नजभजभैर्जभलगसहितैर्भवेद्धरिणलोचनेऽद्रितनया ।

2. *Mattakrīḍā* or *Mattakrīḍaṁ* : v. 131. Ma Ma Ta Na Na Na Na La Gā. It is same as 'Ma Ma Gā Gā Na Na Na Na La Gā acc. to *Cm*.

Def. तत्स्यादेतन्मत्तक्रीडं ममतननननलगवरगणयुतम् ।

XXIV. *Vṛtta Vikṛtih* : *Saṁskṛtih* acc. to *Cm*. Twenty four syllables in a quarter.

1. *Tanvī* : v. 132. Bha Ta Na Sa Bha Bha Na Ya.

Def. इन्द्रियवारा— किरणैर्भतनसभभ्नयसुगणसमेतां
तामथ तन्वीं शतदलनयने संप्रवदन्ति तु विमलधियस्ते ।

XXV. *Vṛtta Saṅkṛtih* (*Saṁskṛtih* ?) : *Atikṛtih* acc. to *Cm*. Twenty five syllables in a quarter.

1. *Krauñcapadā* : v. 133. Bha Ma Sa Bha Na Na Na Na Gā. It is same as 'Bha Ma Sa Bha La La La La La La La La La La La Gā' acc. to *Cm*.

Def. सा तु भवेद्वै क्रौञ्चपदाख्या भमसभनननगसुगणसहिता
वक्त्र (.....) स्थविरामा शिशिरकिरणसुरुचिविजयिवदने ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

XXVI. *Vṛtta Ākṛtiḥ* : *Utkṛtiḥ* acc. to *Cm.* Twenty six syllables in a quarter.

1. *Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhitaṁ* : v. 134. Ma Ma Ta Na Na Na Ra Sa La Gā.

   Def. मौ त्नौ नौ सौलाश्चेत्(वै?) स्यादथ (च?) कनककलशकुचे भुजङ्ग-विजृम्भितम् ।

XXVII. *Vṛtta Utkṛtiḥ* : *Daṇḍaka* acc. to *Cm.* and others. Twenty seven or syllables in a quarter.

Metres with 27 or more syllables in each quarter are designed by the general name *Daṇḍaka.* The highest number of syllables in a quarter of this species of metre is said to be 999. There must be two *Nagaṇas* or six short letters and the remaining must be either *Ragaṇa* or *Yagaṇa* or all the quarters may be *Sagaṇas.* In the Sanskrit Literature we find many experiments of *Daṇḍaka* as if the *Daṇḍaka* literature is separately developed. Ultimately the experiment of *Daṇḍaka* led to the prosopoetic composition.

The poet Nandanandana observes in his commentary on *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ* that one can create many varieties of *Daṇḍaka* by adding letters to the main varieties of *Daṇḍaka.* The poet Nandanandana has given only *Caṇḍavṛṣṭi-prapāta*, and *Proccita* (*Pracitaka* according to *Chandomañjarī*) in his poem.

1. *Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta* : v. 135. Na Na Ra Ra Ra Ra Ra Ra Ra i.e. Two *Nagaṇas* and seven *Ragaṇas.*
2. *Proccita* (*Pracitaka* according to *Chandomañjarī*) : v. 137. Na Na Ya Ya Ya Ya Ya Ya Ya : i.e. Two *Nagaṇas* and seven *Yagaṇas.*

In the first 41 verses the poet refers to some other metres, definitions of which are given by him in the commentary on those verses. The names of those metres along with the definitions are given below :

1. *Jaloddhatagati* : v. 16. जलोद्धतगतिभवेज्जसजसैः ।
2. *Candravartma* : v. 17 ; 18, 19. ईरितं नभसैश्च चन्द्रवर्त्म ।
3. *Praharṣiṇī* : v. 20, 26. म्भिर्मनजरगैः प्रहर्षिणीति ।
4. *Dodhaka* : v. 22. .....तभान्तगगद्वयिधीरैरीरितमुत्तमं दोधकवृत्तमिति ।
5. *Vidyunmālā* : v. 24. दीर्घैरसाभिः सा प्रोक्ता विद्युन्माला धीरप्रकोष्ठैरिति ।
6. *Māṇavaka* : v. 27. मेन नलाभ्यां सहितं गेन भवेन्माणवकम् ।
7. *Indravaṁśā* : v. 28. प्रोक्तेन्द्रवंशादिमवर्णदीर्घवत्तदेव वंशस्थविलं बुधोत्तमैः ।
8. *Lilākhelah* : v. 29. लीलाखेलो बाण——वर्णैः दीर्घैः स्यात । (मममम)
9. *Maṇiguṇanikaraḥ* : v. 30. नननससहितमणिगुणनिकर.....
10. *Srak* : v. 31. रसनवकृतयतिरथ तु कथिते.....
11. *Pramitākṣarā* : v. 32. सजद्वयैर्विशिखवारयतिः प्रमिताक्षरा बुधगणैर्गदिता ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

12. *Mandākinī* : v. 33. ननररगणिनी बुधैरीरितामलतरधिषणैस्तु मन्दाकिनी ।

13. *Tāmarasa* : v. 34. नजजयवद्वद.....तामरसाख्यम् ।

14. *Kusumavicitrā* : v. 35. नयनययुक्तां विबुधसमूहो
निगदति कान्ते कुसुमविचित्राम् ।

15. *Bhujaṅgaprayāta* : v. 36. चतुर्भिर्वैयैर्भुजङ्गप्रयातम् ।

16. *Mattamayūra* : v. 36. मरतो जस्सो गो यदि वै यत्र सखे
स्यात्स प्रोक्तो वेदैर्नवभिर्मत्तमयूरम् ।

17. *Rucirā* : v. 40. भवेत्प्रिये जभजसजगैः पयोनिधिग्रहयति ननु रुचिरा वराक्षरैः ।

18. *Maṇimālā* : v. 41 कान्ते तयतैर्येन स्यान्मणिमाला ।

19. *Mālatī* : नजजरिणी ननु मालती भवेत् ।

Of course many verses are defective from the metrical point of view. The definitions of many metres seem to be incomplete. But, it may be due to the errors of the scribe. Moreover manuscripts of these works are also somewhat in damaged condition and some folios are missing. But, for the research scholars there is an opportunity for the reconstruction of the text of *Chandovilāsa* with the help of the available commentary on the poem *Pratinaiṣadhaṁ*.

This use of the various metres shows his scholarship over prosody. The use of the metres in a particular manner, perhaps, may be useful as illustrations to the students learning *Chandovilāsa*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A NOTE ON *CĀṬA* IN THE DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE

By

SUSAN OLEKSIW, Philadelphia (U.S.A)

Occasionally the *Dharmaśāstras* exhibit an anomalous term that throws light on the origin and development of the material of the texts and their relationship to other materials. One such term is *cāṭa*.

Cāṭa occurs twice in the known metrical *smṛtis* plus once in a *smṛti* of unknown authorship; it does not occur in the *sūtras*. The texts are :

> *cāṭataskaradurvṛttamahāsāhasikādibhiḥ /*
> *pīḍyamānāḥ prajā rakṣet kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ // Yāj.* 1.336
>
> One should guard the people against being injured by *cāṭas*, thieves, the ill-behaved, those who commit cardinal crimes, and especially, clerks.
>
> *cāṭacorabhayaṃ* bādhā sarvasādhāraṇā smṛtā /*
> *tatra upaśamanaṃ kāryaṃ sarvair na ekena kenacit // Bṛh.* 17.6
>
> If there is a fear of *cāṭas* or robbers, the danger is the same for everyone. In that case, the pacification should be done by everyone, not by any one person.
>
> *dhūrte bandini malle ca kuvaidye kitave śaṭhe /*
> *cāṭacāraṇacaureṣu dattaṃ bhavati niṣphalam // Smṛtyantaram, Dharmakośa* 715
>
> What is given to a rogue, bard, wrestler, charlatan, gambler, fraud, *cāṭa*, wandering actor, and thief is fruitless.

In none of these verses is the context so clear as to suggest a specific or restricted definition.

The commentaries on the verses of Yājñavalkya and Bṛhaspati offer usually one of two definitions for term, if anything is given at all. The *Vīramitrodaya* on Yājñavalkya's verse defines *cāṭas* as *vañcanena paradhanagrāhiṇaḥ* 'those who take another's wealth by deceit.' The *Mitākṣarā* on the same verse defines *cāṭas* as *pratārakāḥ viśvāsya ye paradhanamapaharanti* 'deceivers who after gaining trust take another's wealth.' The *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (p. 34) also on Yājñavalkya says only *cāṭāḥ pratārakāḥ* '*cāṭas* are deceivers.' The *Aparārka* simply glosses the term with *piśuna* 'slanderer.' The *Smṛticandrikā* (p. 522)

---

* The variant reading *-bhaye* is followed in the translation.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

defines *cāṭa* in the verse attributed to Bṛhaspati as *vṛka* 'wolf.' The *Vyavahāra-prakāśa* (p. 332) defines the term in this verse in the same way.

The commentators on Yājñavalkya's verse try to draw the distinction between people who take by deceit and thieves or burglars, i.e. between *cāṭa* and *taskara*, while the commentators on the verse attributed to Bṛhaspati draw a distinction between an animal that needs to be restrained and a thief who needs to be captured. There is no consensus in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature on the meaning of *cāṭa*. The editor of the *Dharmakośa* follows the general definition accepted for the term in classical literature and defines *cāṭa* in the Index of terms as "cheat, rogue." (p. 52) Both Monier-Williams and Apte repeat this definition, the latter adding the definition of the *Mitākṣarā* cited above.

The term is not confined to classical Sanskrit literature; it is commonly found in inscriptions as the leader of group of *bhaṭa*s and both belong to "the lowest rank of royal servants" (Sircar 1965 : 361-62). The grant of a village was often accompanied by the statement *acāṭabhaṭapraveśya* · not to be entered by *cāṭa*s and *bhaṭa*s (Sircar 1966 : 67). On the basis of epigraphic evidence scholars have generally agreed that the *cāṭa*s were low level officials with police functions (Mishra 1965 : 65; Altekar 1972 : 344). Sircar points out that they were responsible in particular "for seizing robbers and those guilty of harm or treason to the king" (Sircar 1966 : 67). The *cāṭa* of the inscriptions is certainly not that of the commentators, but we cannot be equally certain as to the meaning of the term in the metrical *smṛti*s.

The term itself poses questions. It is treated as Sanskrit term throughout the Sanskrit literature and has given rise to the Prakrit form *cāḍa* (Turner 1966 : 257 # 4735). Mayrhofer, after defining the term as "Betrüger,/cheat, rogue," suggests that it is derived from *catati* (*caṭati*) "hides himself," the two forms being possibly related in Mayrhofer's view. But √*caṭ* is a late root limited to classical Sanskrit, and √*cat* is found in Vedic literature. More reasonable is the derivation of *cāṭa* as a Prakrit form from √*cṛt* 'to bind, kill, hurt,' which occurs in Vedic literature while Prakrit forms derivable from it appear in later Sanskrit literature (Turner 1966: 74 # 1635). That *cāṭa* was in fact understood by some as a Prakrit term is indicated by its appearance in a Prakrit passage in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (5.7.4) in which the technical meaning of the term from inscriptions must be intended. The entry of Prakrit forms into the Sanskrit vocabulary is certainly not unusual, and in the case of a technical term is almost to be expected. *Cāṭa* as derived from √*cṛt* would then literally mean 'one who binds or injures,' not an inappropriate derivation for the official recorded in the inscriptions as responsible for capturing thieves and traitors and infamous for oppression and deceit in the Sanskrit literature.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The *cāṭa* was a well-known government official according to inscriptions, but the implication to be drawn from the provision therein prohibiting *cāṭas* from entering certain villages, i.e. that they were oppressive in carrying out their duties, would account for the manner in which Yājñavalkya refers to them. The same treatment is accorded to the *kāyastha*, whose reputation for deceit and oppression is a recurring theme in Sanskrit literature. Yājñavalkya lists together without distinction the types of individuals, criminals, government officials, and disreputable characters alike, who prey on citizens and calls for protection against them. Implicit in the verse is the king as the one who should protect the people. The view of the *cāṭa* in Yājñavalkya's verse, therefore, is not of a government official being described from the point of view of polity or government administration but of an official who terrorizes the general citizenry described from the point of view of a citizen.

When we turn to Bṛhaspati's verse we find Yājñavalkya's list of disreputable characters reduced to a formula in *cāṭacora-* and a statement that all should participate in putting down those who would terrorize the citizens. Bṛhaspati's verse reads very much like a refinement of Yājñavalkya's. Whereas *cāṭa* may have appeared in Yājñavalkya in its true historical meaning of an oppressive official, there is no sense of any restricted meaning for the term as it appears in Bṛhaspati's verse. In the verse of unknown authorship *cāṭa* again appears in association with thieves and the formula is expanded for greater onomatopoetic effect. Yājñavalkya's simple *cāṭataskara* and call for protection were refined by Bṛhaspati into a call for action by the citizens against individuals who would terrorize the populace expressed in the formulaic *cāṭacora-*, which then became an independent, variable expression for certain disreputable individuals, as in the verse cited from an unknown *smṛti*.

When the term *cāṭa* entered the literary tradition of the *Dharmaśāstras* and other Sanskrit works, it lost its context and hence its original meaning, and only the flavor of its reputation as an oppressive official remained, leaving the term open for redefinition.

Bibliography

Altekar, A. S. : *State and Government in Ancient India.* (Reprint of 3rd ed. revised and enlarged), Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1972.

Āpṭe, Hari Nārāyaṇa : (ed.) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, with the commentary *Aparārka* of Aparāditya. (ĀSS, 46), Anandāśrama Press, Poona, 1904.

Bhāndārī, Paṇḍit Vishnu Prasād : (ed.) The *Vīramitrodaya, Vyavahāra-prakāśa* of Mitra Miśra, Vol. 7. (ChSS, 30, 7), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares, 1932.

Joshi, Laxmanshastri : (ed.) *Dharmakośa*, Vol. 1, *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, Parts 2 and 3, Vivādapadāni, Prājña Pāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala, Wai, 1938-41.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Khiste, Sāhityāchārya, Pt. Nārāyaṇa and Hośiṅga Pt. Jagannātha Śāstrī Sāhityopadhyāya Sādholāl : (eds.) *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, with the commentaries *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra and *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, (ChSS, 62): Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares, 1924-30.

Mayrhofer, Manfred : *A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, 3 vols, Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1956-76.

Mishra, Bambabhadur : *Polity in the Agni Purāṇa*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1965.

Parab, Kāśināth Pāṇḍurang : (ed.) The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka, with the commentary of *Pṛthvīdhara*. (7th ed. revised by Vāsudev Laxmaṇ Sāstrī Paṇśīkar), Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1936.

Rangaswami Aiyangar, K. V. : (ed.) *Brhaspatismṛti* (reconstructed), (GOS, 85), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1941.

Shama Sastry, R. : (ed.) The *Sarasvativilāsa* of Śri Prataparudramahādeva Mahārāja, *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*. (Oriental Library Publications, Sanskrit Series, 71), University of Mysore, 1927.

Sircar, Dines Chandra, *Indian Epigraphy* : Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1965.
—*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966.

Srinivasacharya, L.: (ed.) *Smṛticandrikā* by Devana Bhatta, Vol. 3, *Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa*, Part 2, (Government Oriental Library Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, 48), Government Branch Press, Mysore, 1916.

Turner, Ralph L.: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CIVIL ARCHITECTURE AS REFLECTED IN THE GĀHĀSATTASAĪ

By

SUNITI DUBLAY, Poona

The *Gāhāsattasaī* is a collection of *Muktakas* i.e. an anthology of stray verses having no mutual connection. Each stanza presents a complete theme and is a unit by itself. The entire text does not tell a single story as such. Different happenings or events in the day-to-day life of common men and women are recorded in a poetic form, presenting cameos of their emotional relations. The focal point of the text is man-woman relationship and the mood is principally erotic.

The text has been ascribed by tradition to the king Hāla of the Sātavāhana dynasty. It is stated that Hāla selected seven hundred stanzas out of a crore of embellished verses[1] and this goes to suggest that Hāla Sātavāhana was the editor of this anthology. Tradition also ascribes the authorship of 44 stanzas to Hāla himself. The nature of the text makes additions and omissions an easy job for copyist. Still, the nucleus of the text could be said to belong to the Sātavāhana period in a very broad sense.

Such a text cannot be expected to give a full idea of the dwellings or architecture in general, but some relevant details about the houses could be collected from it.

Plan :

The plan and size of the houses remain obscure but it is fairly certain that the houses were situated in close proximity of each other so that a heroine is able to call her neighbour (*Saäjjiä*) from her own house requesting him to remain awake at night in order to help her if she was attacked by robbers, as she was alone in the house.[2] There is a mention of a zigzag road going through a village[3] which indicates that the villages were not planned and the houses were built as per space available.

The streets are referred to by the terms *Ratthā*[4] or *Racchā*[5]. These words presuppose the knowledge of chariots. But the text mentions the chariot of the Sun (*Raïraha*)[6] only. It is possible that the *Ratthās* or

1 *GS*, 3.
2 *GS.*, 335.
3 *Ibid.*, 803.
4 *Ibid.*, 140, 190.
5 *Ibid.*, 241, 393, 419, 623, 682, 750, 771.
6 *Ibid.*, 34.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Racchās were main streets of the villages or the trade-routes passing through them.

Cross-roads are referred to by the terms *Cattara*,[7] *Ratthāmuha*,[8] or *Racchāmuha*[9]. The size of the settlements possessing such cross-roads is not clear.

On the whole, the term *Ratthā* or *Racchā* seems to have been used as meaning a road in general. Exact significance is not known. A zigzag road in a wretched village is called *Racchā* and a broad (*Runda*) village street is indicated by the term *Gāmaracchā*.

As stated above, the houses were situated close together, but they were separated from each other by fences.[10] The material used for the fences is not explicitly stated. In one instance, the fence (*Vaīveḍhaṇa*) was prepared with a material with pointed ends looking like stakes (*sūlā*).[11] It was, perhaps, a fence of thorny bushes. The crows, drenched by heavy rains, sitting on this fence are graphically described, looking as if pierced by stakes. Some fences (*Vaīveṭhaṇa*) were erected in such a manner that a person standing in the courtyard could look at the street from the holes in them without being seen.[12] The fence served the purpose of a boundary of personal property. This could be guessed from the reference to one's own compound (*Niyayavaī*) and other's compound (*Paravaī*).[13] An *Eraṇḍa* plant grown out of a hole in the fence (*Vaivivara*)[14] is described.

As far as the plan of the house is concerned, the number of rooms is not known. But it is certain that there was a room meant as a kitchen.[15] It's dimensions are not specified. Then foundation (*Mūlabandha*) of the house (*Ṇivāsa*) is described.[16] It seems from the description that trenches were laid out. How they were packed and with what material and how the house was constructed is not clear from the text. There is only one reference to the construction of a wall. It is stated that a wall cannot be built up with sand only.[17] This presupposes some knowledge of wall-building, may be, with mud or bricks.

---

7 *Ibid.*, 36.
8 *Ibid.*, 190.
9 *Ibid.*, 682.
10 *GS.*, 96, 220, 221, 257, 563, 762, 796.
11 *Ibid.*, 563.
12 *Ibid.*, 220
13 *Ibid.*, 762, 796.
14 *Ibid.*, 257.
15 *Ibid.*, 8, 9, 729.
16 *Ibid.*, 233.
17 *GS.*, 245.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Another component of the plan mentioned is courtyards. They are referred to by the words *Gehaṅgaṇa*,[18] *Aṅgaṇa*,[19] and *Gharaṅgaṇa*.[20] Of these, one courtyard possessed a *Māhavī creeper*.[21] The dimensions or the situation of the courtyards with reference to the houses is not clear but they may have been situated in front of the house because there is a reference to a courtyard at the back of a house (*Paḍohara*)[22] having an *Aṅkolla* tree.

There are a few references to walls (*Kuḍḍa*). It is stated that a wall was a good place (*Ṭhāṇa*) for painting a picture.[23] The picture of Somitti depicting his behaviour towards his sister-in-law is painted by a wife from a noble family (*Kulavahū*) on the wall.[24] There are references to signs made on the walls by wives of traveller husbands to count the number of days when their consorts would return. The material used for the construction of walls is not clear.

Doors are known from some references. A woman waiting for someone in the door (*Dāraṭṭhiā* ,[25] is mentioned. Most probably it was an entrance door from where path could be seen. Houses with closed doors (*Oruddhadāra*)[26] at noon are referred to. Again the touch of a door (*Vārapphaṁsa*) causing destruction of a pitcher (*Kuḍa*) is described.[27] The door of a house (*Gharadāra*) opening into a street is mentioned.[28] There is a reference to the bolt of a door (*Dāraggalā*).[29] From all these instances, the shape and size of the doors are not known. Whether the doors were of a single panel or double panel is also not clear. There is no reference to the windows of the houses.

One reference suggests the white floor of a house,[30] perhaps due to lime, suggesting well-prepared floor.

There is a reference to a threshould (*Dehalīdesa*) at the entrance of a house from where a person stepped out of the house.[31] A terrace (*Olinda*) near the door is referred to, where this terrace was situated in the plan of the house

---

18 *Ibid.*, 120.
19 *Ibid.*, 322.
20 *Ibid.*, 440.
21 *Ibid.*, 322.
22 *Ibid.*, 313.
23 *Ibid.*, 732.
24 *Ibid.*, 35.
25 *Ibid.*, 256.
26 *GS.*, 794.
27 *Ibid.*, 874.
28 *Ibid.*, 954.
29 *Ibid.*, 322.
30 *Ibid.*, 674.
31 *Ibid.*, 525.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

is not mentioned but a stranger traveller guest was offered shelter there for the night.[32] A terrace on the door-way (*Gharadāratoraṇa*) is described. The exact dimensions are not specified but it was large enough to accommodate one person in a sitting position.[33]

A stair-case (*Sovāṇavattī*) finds a mention once.[34] How and where it was used in the construction of the house is not clear. But it suggests a two-storeyed building.

The houses were covered with a thatched roof (*Occha*). One house is described as having a dripping thatch in rainy season as the house was in bad repairs.[35] Another house had a roof of straws. This roof was destroyed by the impact of hurricane (*Zañzāvāä*).[36] A hut covered with leaves (*Pāṇaüdī*) is described as having a fire burning inside.[37] Whether the houses were flat-topped or slanting is not clear from these references.

There is reference to a tile (*Paḍala*) for the roof of a house. A spider is described as hanging from the tile.[38]

Thus from the foundation to the tile at the top, many features of the architecture of the houses are referred to in the *Gāhāsattasaī*. All these facts are corroborated by archaeological evidence and the evidence from the cave-sculptures.

Archaeological Evidence :

The houses excavated at various Sātavāhana sites like Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) present a plan of two or three roomed houses with brick walls and tiled roofs. The roofs are to be guessed from the occurrence of a profusion of tiles and nails. One of the rooms is always a kitchen where there are hearths (*Cūls*) and built-in storage-jars in the floor. The kitchen-rooms produced a lot of pottery of daily use and household equipment such as rotary querns, cūls, saddle-querns, storage-jars etc. The doors were fixed on the frame with iron-hinges. No evidence of windows was recovered. How the rooms were oherwise ventilated is not known. The floor of the houses was prepared with paved bricks and portions plastered with cow-dung. The floor of the houses was made hard by beating the mud or mud and lime into the floor.[39]

---

32 *Ibid.*, 254.
33 *Ibid.*, 262.
34 *Ibid.*, 278.
35 *GS.*, 621.
36 *Ibid.*, 315.
37 *Ibid.*, 227.
38 *Ibid.*, 63.
39 *MEPS.*, p. 54.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Corroboration from Sculptures :

It is widely acknowledged that the cave-sculptures are replica of the models of wooden structures current in those days. The caves at Karle, Bhaje, Bedsa, Pitalkhora etc. represent a structure having two storeys. There are staircases. At Karle, the main *caitya* hall is on the ground floor of the structure while the rooms for the monks are situated on the first floor. Thus, the *Sovāṇa-vattī* of the *Gāhāsattasaī* is corroborated by the cave-sculptures.

The art of painting the walls mentioned in the *Gāhāsattasaī* is also represented in the caves at Bhaje, Bedsa, Kanheri, Ajanta, etc.

The *Gāhāsattasaī* presents a few details about the villages. As stated above, the houses were situated close together. The villages had a common yard (*Gāmaṅgaṇa*) where people could gather in emergency or for festivals.[40] A watchman (*Tittila*) was appointed by a *Gāmaṇī* for such a common yard to look after the correct behaviour of the younger generation.[41] There was a large banyan tree nearby. (*Dūramaṇulaggo*).[42]

Temples :

Some villages have temples.[43] One such temple is described as standing in a ruined condition. Its tower was shattered and a peg like stake was seen. It had become a home for pigeons.[44] Another reference mentions the door of a temple.[45] Then, a temple possessing a courtyard is referred to.[46] But the mutual position of the courtyard and the temple is not known. Other architectural details are not specified. What deity they enshrined is also not stated. But travellers could resort to such a temple.[47] Only one reference tells about the temple of the goddess Ajjā (*Ajjāghara*).[48] Whether she was the mother-goddess (*Mātṛkā*) of the folk-cult is not certain but it is stated that a farmer was offering a string of large bells of his dead buffalo as a dedication. So it is possible that the temple enshrined a folk-goddess. It is clear from these references that there were temples for public worship along with the household deities (*Gharadevadā*).[49]

Many villages are said to have possessed ponds and lakes with lotus-beds These enhanced the beauty of the villages. They were situated in a slightly

---

40 *GS.*, 556, 625.
41 *GS.*, 556.
42 *Ibid.*
43 *Ibid.*, 64,109, 190.
44 *Ibid.*, 64.
45 *Ibid.*, 109.
46 *Ibid.*, 190.
47 *Ibid.*, 109.
48 *Ibid.*, 172.
49 *Ibid.*, 194.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

secluded position and could be a place of rendezvous as is suggested by the stanzas number four and hundred-and-ten.

Different trees and creepers are mentioned. The banyan trees are present in many villages or near the villages. Some of them were very large.[50]

No evidence of contemporary town-planning has been, as yet, available from excavations. In fact, no planning of any sort has been witnessed. Houses were built at random and the space between the houses became a street.[51] This method of house construction is witnessed even to-day in different villages. A town, planned like the towns of Harappan culture or Mauryan times, which were laid out in an excellent manner, is not known.

There are a few references to cities [52] No architectural details or details about planning could be conceived from them. One reference tells about an abandoned city (*Uvvasiaṇaāra*).[53] Another one states the calamity of a city by fire (*Ṇaāradāha*).[54] Yet another reference describes a thoroughly destroyed old countryside (*Paṇaṭṭha-porāṇa-jaṇavaā*).[55] The reasons for the desertion or destruction remain obscure. Whether they were political, cultural or natural is not specified.

The external literary evidence by Pliny tells that the *Sātavāhanas* were a strong political power and had thirty walled towns.[56] But such walled towns have not been located anywhere as yet.[57]

As the focal point of the *Gāhāsattasaī* is romance, the references to houses, villages and cities are incidental. They serve a subsidiary purpose in the setting of the events described in the stanza. Still, they have provided a a lot of material which is collected and presented in a homogeneous manner here, co-relating it with archaeological evidence as well as literary evidence, wherever possible.

Bibliography with Abbreviations

Deo, S. B. *Mahārāṣṭra-Eka Purātattvīya Samālocana*, Bombay, 1968 (MEPS)
Jogleker S. A. *Hāla Sātavāhanāchī Gāthāsaptaśatī* (Ed.) Poona, 1956 (*GS.*)
Mujumdar R. C., and Pusalkar, A. D., *Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed.) Bombay, 1968. (*AIU*).

---

50 *GS.*, 556.
51 *MEPS.*, p. 54.
52 *GS.*, 36, 163, 190.
53 *Ibid.*, 194.
54 *Ibid.*, 1963.
55 *Ibid.*, 340.
56 *AIU.*, p. 210.
57 *MEPS.*, p. 53.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

KERALA'S CONTRIBUTION TO PRAKRIT LITERATURE

By

P. M. JOSEPH, Anchal (Kerala)

0. Kerala was having contact with Aryandom from at least 3rd century B.C. The Buddhists and Jainas had come to this land to preach their respective religions. Groups of Vedic brāhmin immigrants had settled in this country. These *Āryans* might have used Sanskrit as well as Prakrits (including Pālī) in their transactions. Loan words from Sanskrit and Prakrit are attested in the language of Kerala from 9th century A.D. The following is a study of Prakrit works written in Kerala.

0.1. *Saṭṭaka* :

Saṭṭaka is a kind of Drama, in which all the characters speak Prakrit. There are very few of these dramas and *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśēkhara is the most outstanding one in this field. Rudradāsa, a member of the Vāriyar community, and the protege of Aśvatitirunāḷ Mānveda of Calicut, wrote a *Saṭṭaka* under the title '*Caṃdalehā*'[1]. The theme of this drama is the love affairs of king Mānaveda with princess Candralekhā, which ends in their marriage. There are four '*yavanikāntara*'-s or Acts in this play, as in *Karpūramañjarī*, which the author evidently follows even in drawing up the plot. The style is elegant. As in other Prakrit works written by Kerala scholars, there are too many *śabdālaṁkāras* and compound words which makes the language artificial to some extent. The descriptions of natural beauty in verses are really excellent. The beautiful picture of the rising full-moon can be fouud in the following verse :

Caṃdaṇa-caccia-savva-disaṃto
Cāru-caora-Suhāī kuṇaṃto /
Dīha-pasāria-dīhiï-buṃdo
Dīsaï-diṇṇa-raso ṇava caṃdo //

' The full moon, that sprinkles all directions with sandal paste, brings happiness to the cakora birds, has long and protracted bunches of rays, and has given enjoyment, makes her appearance '.

The influence of classical Sanskrit on the language of the play is evident. The language has been strictly controlled by the grammatical rules of Vararuci, which entails artificiality. ' The importance of *Candralekhā* is not merely in its literary excellence; in the study of *Saṭṭaka* type of dramas and in the study of

1 Upadhye, A. N., (ed.) *Candralekhā Saṭṭaka* (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 6, 1945).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Prakrit language also, it will be of much help'.[2] The fact that there are only a few *Saṭṭakas* in the field of literature, enhances its importance.

2. Prakrit *Kāvyas*

2.1. *Soricaritta* is a Prakrit *kāvya*, written by one Śrīkaṇṭha, the protege of one of the Zamorins of Calicut.[3] There is another view that the poet was the protege of the king Keraḷavarman of Kolattunāḍu.[4] The poem is supposed to have been written in or around 1700 A.D. Each *gāthā* ends in alliteration which makes it unintelligible without commentary. The author's disciple, Rudradāsa has rendered a Sanskrit commentary on *Soricaritta*.[5] The following is a *gāthā* from the text.[6]

Rāā-ruiraṃgaṃtāṇaṃ
Khettūṇaṃ aṃgaṇammi raṃgaṃtāṇaṃ /
Cuṃbai māā mahiā
Balakaṇhāṇaṃ muhāi māāmahiā //

'The noble mother, troubled by *māyā*, kisses the faces of Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa, whose bodies are beautiful with dust, having played in the court-yard'.

2.2. *Bhṛṅgasaṅdēśa :*

Bhṛṅgasaṅdēśa is a poem of the *saṅdēśa kāvya* type and of unknown authorship. The Ms. of this work is preserved in the Mss. library, Trivandrum. Hence, it is inferred that the author belonged to Kerala. A Sanskrit commentary has been incorporated with the palm leaf *grantha*. In the commentary, which is also of unknown authorship, quotations from *Meghasaṅdēśa*, *Karpūramañjarī*, *Śākuntala*, and grammatical treatises of Trivikrama and Vararuci are given. As in other *Saṅdēśakāvyas*, every stanza is written in *mandākrāntā* metre. The following is a stanza from the poem.

Ālāvaṃ se aha sumahuraṃ kūiaṃ koilāṇaṃ
Aṃgaṃ pāo uṇa kisalaām āṇaṇaṃ aṃbujammaṃ /
Nettaṃ bhiṃgaṃ saha piaamaṃ tassa māāpahāvā
So kappaṃto virahasarisaṃ taṃ dasaṃ pattavaṃto //

'The hero, who was separated from the heroine, under the influence of *māyā*, attained the state of *viraha*, having apprehended the sweet voice of his lover as the sound of the cuckoo, her limbs as the tender leaves, her face as the lotus and her eyes as the dear black bees.'

---

2 Raja, K. Kunjunni, *Kerala Contribution to Sanskrit Literature* (Madras, 1968), p. 110.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Jain, Jagadish Chandra, *Prakrit Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa* (Chowkhamba, Benarese 1961), pp. 605-606.

5 *Ibid.*

6 The text has been published by A. N. Upadhye in *JBU XII-2*.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

2.3. *Kaṃsavaho* :

Kaṃsavaho[7] is a Prakrit *kāvya*, written by the famous Kerala scholar Rāmapāṇivāda, who lived in 18th century A D. This scholar has many Malayalam, Prakrit and Sanskrit works to his credit. The poem written in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, consists of 233 verses divided into four Cantos. This beautiful *kāvya* describes the episode of the slaying of Kaṃsa by Kṛṣṇa, the account of which can be found in *Śrīmahābhāgavata*. The following is a stanza which describes the thoughts of Gōpikās, who were separated from Kṛṣṇa, when he left for Mathurā.

Kaā ṇu pīna-thaṇa-gāḍha-pīḍaṇa-
Malijjamāṇujjala-vaṇṇa-māliaṃ /
Imehi dohiṃ parivēḍhiūṇa se
Visālaṃ āliṃgihimō bhuaṃtaraṃ //

"Surrounding (him) by these arms, when, indeed, shall we embrace his broad chest, so as to crush the brilliant garland of wild flowers by the impetuous pressure of our swelling breasts."

Kṛṣṇa, falling on Kaṁsa, has been described thus :

Bibbhāṇaṃ visamadhiaṃ sahāvavaṃkaṃ
Kaṃsaṃ taṃ kasaṇa-bhuaṃgaṃ va ghoraṃ /
Pakhiṃdo va viṇaattibhaṃjaṇo so
Maṃcagga-ṭṭhiaṃ ahisaṃpaḍei kaṇho //

"That Kṛṣṇa, who destroys the sufferings of those who are devoted to him, (*vinata-ārti-bhañjana*) assails that Kaṁsa, who possessed a wicked intention, who was crooked by nature, who was terrible like a black serpent and who was seated on a platform, just like the lord of birds (i.e. Garuḍa) who destroyed the sufferings of Vinata, attacks the terrible black serpent that has excessive poison and that is crooked by nature."

2.4. *Usāṇiruddha* :

Usāṇiruddha[8] is another Prakrit *kāvya*, written by the same author. In this poem, there are four Cantos, and the plot is based on the marriage of Uṣā with Aniruddha, described in *Bhāgavata*. In this work also, the language is Mahārāṣṭrī. About the language of Rāmapāṇivāda, A. N. Upadhye writes : "Rāmapāṇivāda generally follows the Vararuci *sūtras*, with the commentaries thereon, his dialect is influenced by the prose of the dramas, he shows a small number of words which are further deductions from known forms, and as he conceives the expressions first in Sanskrit, we find that many Sanskrit forms are directly corrupted into Prakrit, that some initial consonants are elided and some

7 Upadhye, A. N. (ed.), *Kaṃsavaho* (Motilal Banarasidass, Benarese, 1940).

8 Sastry Subramonia and Raja Kunjunni (eds.), *Usāṇiruddha* (Adayar Library Madras, 1943).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

initial duplications retained."[9] The Mahārāṣṭrī dialect, that Rāmapāṇivāda uses, at times shows traits of Śaurasēnī.[10]

2.5 *Siricindhakavva* :

Siricindhakavva is a '*śāstrakāvya*' written by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka of Kerala, in about 1300 A.D. Of the 12 Cantos found in the text, the first eight are written by Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka himself and the remaining four by his disciple Durgāprasādayati. The first eight Cantos explain the grammatical rules of Vararuci, and the remaining four, those of Trivikrama. Durgāprasādayati has prepared an elaborate Sanskrit commentary for the whole text, called '*Bhaktivilāsa*'. The plot is based on the story of Kṛṣṇa and verses in Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī and Paiśācī can be found in the text. In the following verse, the complaint of Gōpikās to Yaśōdā, on Kṛṣṇa's theft has been depicted.

Puṇṇāāreṇa ghoso viula-rasa-bharo so imoṇaṃta-kitti
Ṇaṃ deso ummahiṃdo via sura-ṇilao socchavacchūsavaccho |
Eṇhiṃ suṇṇo Jasoe, tuha siritaṇaā-tthea-lacchī-vilāso
Niggavvo mottavaccho vaaṇilaa-jaṇo tattha itthaṃ bhaṇīa ||

'O ! Yaśōdā, the cowherd's village, which flourishes owing to virtuous deeds, which is famous, which has Nanda as the ruler like the dwelling of the gods with Indra for its ruler, and which is full of bulls, calves and cows, has become devoid of cows and calves due to the vices earned by the practice of theft by your son who is full of prosperity' thus spoke the Gōpikās. (The last attribute is a ridicule. The stanza is meant to explain the rule of Vararuci, '*Saṃdhāvacāṃ aglopaviśesā bahulam* (IV-1)).

3. Prakrit Passages in Malayalam Texts.

Prakrit passages are found in many Malayalam literary works. These passages have found place in the respective works, perhaps, because the poets presumed that the teaching of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, that low characters should speak their respective Prakrits, should be invariably followed in *dṛśyakāvyas* in Malayalam also. In Kūṭiyāṭṭaṃ and Kūtta which are forms of stage performances, the women characters used to speak Prakrit.

3.1. Prakrit passages in Kathakali literature.

In the field of Kathakali literature, which provides music and plot for Kathakali dance, the celebrated art of Kerala, there are some Prakrit passages. One is found in *Nivātakavacakālakeyavadham* of Koṭṭayattu Tampurāṇ (17th century A.D.). It is a verse introducing the dialogue of Urvaśi, the *Apsaras*. It runs thus :

---

9 Upadhye, A. N., *op. cit.*, p. xxxix.
10 *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sumaṇoraha-paḍiyūḷaṃ
Bhaṇiyaṃ edassa suṇiya suravaṇiā /
Vakkuṃ pakkamidappaṃ
Vayaṇaṃ mayaṇeṇa vaṃcidā patthaṃ //

" After hearing his (Arjuna's) words, which were contrary to her desire, the celestial nymph, being cheated by Cupid, started to speak a few words. "

In *Aṁbarīṣacaritam* of Aśvatitiṛunāl (1756-1798), the dialgue of the Yavanas is given in Prakrit. *Duryodhanavadham* of Vayaskara Mūss (1835-95) contains a Prakrit passage. It gives an account of the devils gathered in the war-field of Kurukṣetra, at midnight, to eat the corpses. The passage consists of eighteen lines, but the version given in the printed texts is highly spurious, and it may be very difficult to get the meaning.

3.2. Prakrit passages in Tuḷḷal Pāṭṭus :

Kuṅcan Nambiyār, the author of a number of poems, which are used for a kind of Kerala dance, called Tuḷḷal, has inserted some Prakrit passages in some of his poems. Some of these are found in a corrupt and incomprehensible state. The initial four lines from a *stotra*, consisting of 16 lines in Māgadhī, taken from a work called *Pātracaritaṃ*, are given below.

Padumaṇāha ṇamo ṇamo, tuha paṃkayakkha ṇamo ṇamo
Yadukumāla tamāla-nīla-śalīla vīla ṇamo ṇamo
Maśiṇa-ghuśina-śikhaṃḍa maṃḍaṇa viṇada-ṇāha ṇamo ṇamo
Kaṇaga-kaṃkaṇa-vaśaṇa caṃcala-ṇayaṇa tujha ṇamo ṇamo

" Salutation to you, O ! salutation to you, O ! Padmanābha. O ! Paṅkajākṣa, O ! son of the Yadus, with body as blue as Tamāla, O ! courageous, salutation to you. O ! the one adorned with locks of hair, left out of the crown, treated with soft perfumes, salutation to you. Hail the one having golden robes, hail ! the one with unsteady eyes, salutation to you. "

3.3. Prakrit passages in Kerala Sanskrit Dramas.

Kerala scholars have written a good number of Sanskrit dramas from 9th century A.D. These dramas consist of passages written in Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī.[11]

Some peculiarities of the language of the Prakrit passages or works written by Kerala scholars may be noted here. The Mahārāṣṭrī language of many of these works shows traits of Śaurasenī, such as voicing of intervocalic /t/ etc. and retention of intervocalic /gh/ etc. The lines quoted from Kuṅcan Nambiyār, are supposed to belong to the Māgadhī Prakrit. But, irrespective of being Māgadhī

11 For a detailed study of Sanskrit dramas written by Kerala scholars, please see, Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

or Mahārāṣṭrī or Śaurasēnī, in all the Prakrit passages written by Kerala scholars, the dental /l/ is always represented with /ḷ/. Upadhye states that in all the Mss. he examined of *Kaṁsavaho*, this tendency has been noticed.[12] The same tendency has been found in the Prakrit passages written in the Sanskrit dramas by Kerala scholars. According to Prakrit grammarians retroflexion of dental /l/ is justified only in the case of Paiśācī. It deserves further investigations to say whether the retroflexion of dental /l/, found in these passages is owing to Paiśācī influence. It is to be noted that this trait is found even in the pronunciation of English by the people of Kerala. It is interesting to note that according to the Prakrit grammarian Lakṣmīdhara, some of the Piśāca countries are in South India.[13]

Another peculiarity is that hiatus is prevented with a /y/ glide in passages written in Malayalam characters, as in Jaina Prakrits.

Mainly, all the passages are written in Mahārāṣṭrī or Śaurasēnī. Exceptions are found only in Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka and Kuñcan Nambiyār. Passages in Pālī, Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṁśa are not at all found. The presence of Pālī and Ardhamāgadhī loan words shows that Buddhists and Jainas had come to Kerala. Perhaps they might not have entered into literary activities, or what they had written might have been destroyed by their Hindu rivals.

---

12 Upadhye, A. N., *op. cit.*, pp. x f.

13 Pāṇḍya-Kekaya-Bāhlīka-
Siṃha-Nēpāla-Kuntalāḥ/
Sudeṣṇa-Bhoja-Gāndhāra-
Haiva-Kannojanās tathā//
Lakṣmīdhara, *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*, introductory verse v. 29

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

GEOGRAPHICAL GLEANINGS FROM TANTRIC BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

By

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, Chandigarh

There are numerous manuscripts of Tantric Buddhist works in various public and private collections, both Indian and foreign. Whenever these works have been studied by scholars, the special point of interest that they took was mostly to derive information pertaining to either Buddhist religion in general or Buddhist iconography in particular. But, some of these works, it has to be appreciated, contain valuable information about the history, culture, and topography of the country.

One such work is the celebrated *Pañcarakṣā* which deals primarily with the rituals connected with the five protective goddesses of the Tantric Buddhist pantheon. Another Buddhist work, the *Mahāmāyūrī*, is also an important document of ancient Indian geography—it gives a list of countries connected with different *Yakṣas*. The *Pañcarakṣā*, however, contains a list of forty rivers and sixty-eight mountains of India. Each of these rivers is mentioned as *nadīrāja* and each mountain as *parvatarāja*—the suffix *rāja* presumably indicating, in both the cases, nothing except the sanctity attached to the rivers and mountains concerned by the Buddhists. From the context it appears that these names of the rivers and mountains were given by the Buddha to his disciple Ānanda.[1] Interestingly, these rivers and mountains are referred to not merely as those of India or *Bhāratavarṣa*, but as belonging to the world (*pṛthivīmaṇḍala*).[2]

The two lists of rivers and mountains are found in almost all manuscripts of the *Pañcarakṣā* known to us, and the lists seem to be more or less the same in all these manuscripts. In this paper we have compiled the two lists by comparing the contents of two manuscripts of the *Pañcarakṣā* belonging to the Asiatic Society. Both these manuscripts are dated, and it needs no mention that they are not the earliest examples of the manuscripts of the work concerned. One of the manuscripts (No.B. 35) was copied, according to its colophon statement, in the Newārī era 385 (= A.D. 1265) during the reign of Jayabhīmadeva of Nepal.[3] The other (No.B.4) was copied in the Newārī era 944 (= A.D. 1824).[4] In the former, the list of the rivers appears on folios

1 Ms. No. B. 35 has the following statements : *ityetāścānyāścānandanadyaya, sminpṛthivimaṇḍale prativasanti* (Fol. 169 B), and *ityete cānye vāsminpṛthivimaṇḍale parvatarājānaḥ* (Fol. 171 B).

2 *Ibid.*

3 Bhattacharyya D. C., *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*, New Delhi, 1974.

4 *Ibid.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

168B-169B, and in the latter, on folios 151A-152A. Similarly the list of mountains in the former occurs on folios 170A-171B, and in the latter on folios 152B-154A.

The list of the rivers is as follows (the names are given in the order they are mentioned in B.35, and if not separately stated, it will mean the same order has been followed in B. 4 as well) :

1. Gaṅgā
2. Sindhu
3. Cakṣu
4. Sītā (Śītā in B. 4)
5. Sarayū
6. Ajiravatī (Ajīravatī in B.4)
7. Yamunā
8. Kubhā
9. Vitastā
10. Satadru (Śatadru in B. 4)
11. Vipāsā
12. Airāvatī
13. Candrabhāgā (Candrabhā in B. 4)
14. Sarasvatī
15. Narmadā
16. Kacchapī
17. Payoṣṇī
18. Kāverī
19. Tāmbraparṇī (Tāmraparṇī in B. 4)
20. Mahānadī (Mahānī in B. 4)
21. Madumatī
22. Vetravatī
23. Ikṣumati (Ikṣu in B. 4)
24. Gomatī
25. Carmaṇvatī
26. Saumitrā (Śaumitrā in B. 4)
27. Viśvāmitrā
28. Amarāvatī
29. Tāmārī (Tāmarī in B. 4)
30. Pāñcālī (Pāñcālā in B. 4)
31. Suvāstu
32. Prabhadikā (Prabhadīkā in B. 4)
33. Tapodā
34. Vimalā
35. Nairañjanā

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

36. Hiraṇāvatī (Hiraṇyavatī in B. 4)
37. Godāvarī (Godāvalī in B. 4)
38. Bāhudadā (Bāhuda in B. 4)
39. Vipulā
40. Rathasyadā (Rathasyakā in B.4)

Following the same system, as above, we quote below the list of the mountains given in the work :

1. Sumeru
2. Himavān
3. Gandhamādana (Gandharvamāna in B. 4)
4. Śataśṛṅga
5. Potalaka
6. Khadiraka
7. Suvarṇapārśva (Suvarṇapāśa in B. 4)
8. Dyūtidhara
9. Nimidhara
10. Cakrabāḍha (Cakrabāḍa in B. 4)
11. Sucakrabāḍha (Sucakrabāḍa in B. 4)
12. Indraśaila
13 Brahmālaya
14. Śrīmanta
15. Sudarśana
16. Vipula
17. Ratnākara
18. Kṛmiśa
19. Maṇikaṇṭha
20. Vemacitra
21. Vajrākāra
22. Asuraprāgbhāra (Asuraprāgbhāga in B. 4)
23. Hanumaccitra
24. Vidyutprabha (Vidyulyabha in B. 4)
25. Aśvaṛṣabha
26. Aśvattha
27. Candraprabha
28. Bhadraśaila
29. Candraśaila (missing in B. 4)
30. Citraśaila
31. Sūryakānta
32 Vidura
33. Vindhya
34. Citrakūṭa

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

35. Malaya
36. Suvarṇaśṛṅga
37. Pārijāta
38. Subāhu
39. Maṇimanta (Maṇimantra in B. 4)
40. Sumedha
41. Suṣeṇa (Suśvena in B. 4)
42. Brahmatuṇḍa
43. Vedakaccha
44. Gokarṇa
45. Mālyacitra (Mālyacita in B. 4)
46. Malayacitra
47. Tāpana
48. Añjana
49. Mañjana
50. Ruruvapu (Rurupuve in B. 4)
51. Uśiragiri (Usiragiri in B. 4)
52. Samadga (Sammaga in B. 4)
53. Śaṁkha
54. Śodhaka
55. Dardara
56. Kailāśa
57. Mahendra
58. Citrakūṭa (Trikūṭa in B. 4)
59. Siṁha
60. Sahya
61. Upasiṁha (in B. 4, it is after No. 59)
62. Upāsika
63. Candanamāla
64. Vartulagṛha
65. Kokanada (Kokanāda in B. 4)
66. Śāsanāda (Sāsanāda in B. 4)
67. Gṛdhrakūṭa
68. Brahmadaṇḍa (it is mentioned only in B. 4, and as No. 43)

A careful perusal of the above-mentioned two lists, one of the rivers and the other of the mountains, shows that most of the rivers and mountains mentioned herein are to be found also in the well-known lists contained in the *Purāṇas*. Moreover, most of these rivers and mountains are identifiable. Of course, there are some of the names which might not be very common, and thus the problem of their proper identification will naturally come up. In fact, many of these unfamiliar names seem to be mythological. The business of the identification

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of these problematic names of rivers and mountains is not being brought under the scope of the present paper. That job can perhaps be accomplished by scholars intending to contribute fresh light on our existing knowledge of ancient Indian geography.

But a few comments on the possible implication of these two lists on the socio-cultural history of India will not perhaps be out of place here. The work containing these lists of rivers and mountains pertains to the Tāntric Buddhist faith. The rivers and mountains mentioned are distributed over a vast land extending from Afganisthan and Bihar and from the Himalayas to the far south of the peninsular India. Does this reflect on the expanse of the spell of Tāntric Buddhist faith ? or in other words, are these two lists indicative of the geographical extent of the influence of the faith of Tāntric Buddhism ? This question cannot, however, be answered at this moment without having any other evidence throwing light on this issue. But, the importance of the two lists for the study of ancient Indian historical geography cannot be overemphasised.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

"AMARAMĀRKAṆḌEYAṀ—A STUDY"[1]

By

BHAGAVATPRASAD P. PANDYA, Baroda

Introduction :

The '*Amaramārkaṇḍeyaṁ* (=*AM*)[2] is an allegorical, and lyrical drama by Śaṅkaralāla, the son of Māheśvara of Bhāradvāja *gotra* of the Praśnorā Nāgara community. He lived in Jamnagar (Gujarat State) during 1844-1916 A.D. His mother was Moṅghībāī. He was born in the famous family of *Rasavaidya* Jhaṇḍū-Bhaṭṭajī of Jamnagar. From his very childhood, he was interested in Sanskrit learning and so after the performance of sacred thread-ceremony his father put him under the able guidance of *Śāstrī Daivajñaśīromaṇi* Keśavajī-Murārajī. He studied under him *Sāhitya*, *Kāvya* and other branches of Sanskrit learning. He commenced writing poetry at the age of 15. The *Mahārājā* of Jamnagar bestowed upon him the title of *Śīghrakavi* i.e. an extempore poet. He was made Principal of the Sanskrit College at Morvi, (in the Rāvajīrāja *Pāṭhaśālā*) at the age of 21. He served there for many years. He was made *Mahāmahopādhyāya* in 1914 and passed away in 1916.

He has written *Rāvajīrājakīrtivilāsa* a poem on the royal family of Morvi State. Moreover he has composed many other works like :
(1) *Sāvitrī-carita*, (2) *Candraprabhā-caritra*, (3) *Anasūyābhyudaya-Bhogavatī-Bhāgyodaya*, (4) *Gopālu-Cintāmaṇi*, (5) *Dhruvābhyudaya*, (6) *Bhadrāyurvijaya*, (7) *Vidvat-Kṛtya-Viveka*, (8) *Sevya-Sevaka-dharma*, (9) *Laghukaumudī-prayogamaṇimālā*, (10) *Adhyātma-Ratnāvalī*, (11) *Śrī-Kṛṣṇacandrābhyudaya*, (12) *Bālacaritaṁ*, (13) *Amaramārkaṇḍeyam*, (14) *Maheśaprāṇapriyā*, (15) *Vāmana-vijaya*, (16) *Pārvatī-Pariṇaya* and minor poems *Pāñcālīcaritra*, *Arundhatī-vijaya*, *Prasanna-lopāmudrā*, *Keśavakṛpāleśalaharī*, *Kailāśayātrā*, *Bhrāntibhayabhañjana*, *Meghaprārthanā*, *Vipanmitram patram*, and several *stotras*, *praśastis* and many articles on various topics in a very lucid and simple style.

In his memory, his admirers have founded *Śaṅkarāśrama* at Morvi (Saurashtra) where *saṃnyāsins* are invited to deliver discourses on religion.[3]

---

1 Paper read at the '*Classical Section*' of the 28th session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Dharwar on 10th to 12th Nov. 1976.

2 In this paper references to the "*Amaramārkaṇḍeyaṁ*" (*AM*) is to the edition with the Gujarati translation by Khelaśaṅkar Śarmā (who is our author's son), Ātaṅkanigraha-Press, 1933,

3 (i) *AM*, *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Summary and Plot-Construction :

This drama in five acts deals with the famous story of Mārkaṇḍeya, the son of Mārkaṇḍa ṛṣi, and how he had his life extended by the worship and grace of Lord Śiva for a period of one *kalpa* from a short period of sixteen years. This story occurs in the *Mahābhārata Vanaparvan*, and many other *Purāṇas* e.g. *Agni* 20.10, *Viṣṇu* 1.10-3, *Vāyu* 28.5, *Bhāgavata* 12.8-10, *Bṛhannāradīya* 1.4-50, 15.1-20 etc.[4] It is significant to note that the author mentions Mārkaṇḍeya's mother's name as Viśālākṣī which point is our author's contribution.

In the first act after the benedictory stanza the author gives his personal brief account. On the *Mahāśivarātrī* day, this drama was enacted in the presence of Śiva's devotees in the Rājarājeśvara temple (Act I, p. 2). Regarding the exact location of the Rājarājeśvara temple there are two views :—

(1) Śrī Hāṭakeśabhāi Khelaśankar Bhatt, the grand-son of author, says that there was a Śivaliṅga given by some acetic, from Benaras, to the author, and the author was worshipping this Śivaliṅga addressed it as Rājarājeśvara mahādeva. Presently Śrī Śukadevbhāi Khelaśankar Bhatt, the second grand-son of the author worships the same Śivaliṅga at Bhavnagar.

(2) Śrī Mulaśankar Kevaliyājī from Jamnagar informs that there is a temple of Kubereśvara mahādeva at Morvi, which is refered to as a Rājarājeśvara temple by the author.

The main scene is introduced with the problem of the childlessness of Viśālākṣī, the wife of Mṛkaṇḍa, who is Śiva's devotee.[5] Mṛkaṇḍa consoles her, but she insists on getting a son by worshipping Śiva, because Śiva fulfils always the desire of his worshippers.[6] Then handing over the hermitage to Brahmins both of them go to the river Kāverī for practising penance.

(ii) Krishnamachariar, M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass, 1970, pp. 381, 670-71.

(iii) *Shrikrishṇa-Chandrābhyudayaṁ* with commentary by Śāstrī Hāthibhāi, pub. by Khelashankar Shaṅkarlāl, Morvi, 1917, Intro. p. 16.

(iv) Gairolā Vācaspati, *Sanskṛt Sāhityakā Itihāsa*, Chowkhamba Vidya Bhavan, Varanasi-1, 1960, p. 817.

4 *Mahābhārata, Vanaparvam and Anuśāsanaparvam*—Citraśālā Press, Poona-Bhandarkar Saṁhitā ed; see Citrarv Siddheśvaraśhāstri, *Prācinacaritrakośa*, 1964, Pp. 647-649.

Agni-Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvar Press, *Saṁvat* 1958; 20-10,

Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvar Press, *Saṁvat*, 1967; 1-10-3,

Vāyu-purāṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, Pub. by Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1988, p. 209; 28.5;

Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Gītā Press, Gorakhpura, *Saṁvat* 2010, 12.8-10,

Bṛhan-nāradīya-purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvar Press, *Saṁvat* 1962, 1.4-50, 1-5-1.10, etc.

5 प्रिये ! आनपत्यदुःखदीनायाः सतीविशालाक्ष्या इव स्वर उपलक्ष्यते । (Act I, p. 3)

6 °भक्तजनवांच्छितसमर्पणपारिजातायमानमानसः श्रीमहेश्वरः— (Act I, p. 6)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The second act deals with the penance of Mṛkaṇḍa and the consequent granting of the boon by Śiva through Nārada for an omniscient son having a life-span of sixteen years only.

In the third act Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are shown anxiously waiting for Śiva and Pārvatī. No sooner did they start contemplating on them, than they went there. Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā received them very warmly.[7] Kṛṣṇa and Śiva honoured mutually. Śiva and Pārvatī requested Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to start the *Rāsalīlā* without any delay. Then follows a beautiful description of the *Rāsalīlā*. Nārada returns from Mṛkaṇḍa and describes the *Rāsalīlā* vividly.[8] Kṛṣṇa also welcomes Nārada and tells him to sing a song. Nārada sang a song consisting of thirteen stanzas, dealing with themes like characteristics of *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa Brahman* etc.

While witnessing the *Rāsalīlā* Nārada suspects *kāma*, *krodha* and *lobha* in Kṛṣṇa and he observes that it is not proper for Kṛṣṇa to touch other women. He gives in detail the punishment of touching other's wives. He also wonders at how this creator and sustainer of the world and expounder of religious duties falls in love with worldly women like *gopis*.

Śaṅkara marks this current of thought and he requests Pārvatī to show the real characteristics of Kṛṣṇa, who is bereft of all worldly desires.

Pārvatī tells Nārada to see the *Rāsalīlā* through his finger-ring. Then by the divine vision he sees first of all

Rādhikāṁ Rādhikāmantare Mādhavo
Mādhavaṁ Mādhavaṁ Cāntare Rādhikā /
Rādhikāmādhavābhyāmidaṁ maṇḍalaṁ /
Vyāptamābhāti me nāparā aṅganāḥ // III.33 //

and thus there is no woman other than Rādhā.

---

7 जय जय जय शम्भो ! विश्वबन्धो । परात्मन् !
जय जय जय मातर्विश्वमातर्नमस्ते ॥
परमसुखकरी श्रीपूर्णिमेयं भवित्री
परमशिव ! परेशि ! स्वागतेनात्र वां नः ॥ III.3 ॥
रत्नासनं त्रिजगतीपितरौ ! भवद्भ्या-
मेतन्निवेदितमयं कुसुमाञ्जलिश्च ॥
प्रेम्णाऽर्पितो हि युवयोश्चरणाब्जयुग्मे
प्रेम्णा विलोकयतमाशु युवां निजान्नः ॥ III.4 ॥

8 अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवो माधवं माधवं चान्तरे चाङ्गना ॥
एवमेकान्तरं माधवं चाङ्गनां रासलीलाविधौ वीक्ष्य मोदामहे ॥ after III.13 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

At the second time, he observes :—

Mātarjagadidamakhilaṁ sacarācaramadya me bhāti /
Śrī Rādhāmādhavamayamitarad Vastveva naivāsti // III.34 //

Thus there is nothing else in the world except Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

At the third time he sees Viṣṇu lying on a serpent-couch with Lakṣmī shampooing his feet and Brahmā sitting in Viṣṇu's navel-lotus[9]. Thus he enjoys the happiness of having the *darśana* of *nirguṇa Brahman* in Kṛṣṇa without *gopa* and *gopīs* around them.[10]

Nārada is struck with bashfulness and begs for pardon of pārvatī and Śiva. Pārvatī puts her hand on his head and gives him consolation. Nārada again wanted to see the *Rāsalīlā* but Pārvatī told him that it was Kṛṣṇa's grace only that he could see it. He requests Kṛṣṇa who permits him to see the *Rāsalīlā*. He said that he could see it only by Śiva's grace. Thus here *abheda* between Lord Kṛṣṇa and Lord Śiva is suggested.

Nārada again sees *Rāsalīlā* and realises non-distinction between Hari and Hara i.e. *Hariharayorabhedaḥ*[11] With this realisation, the *Rāsalīlā* episode comes to an end.

Śaṅkara and Pārvatī take leave of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and return[12]. Both

---

9 क्षीरनीरनिधौ मातर्महामणिमयालये ॥
शेषशय्याशयालुः श्रीनारायण इहेक्ष्यते ॥ III.36 ॥
जगन्मातृमहालक्ष्मीसेविताङ्घ्रिसरोरुहः ॥
नाभिपद्मान्तरालस्थचतुराननशोभितः ॥ III.37 ॥

10 निराकारं तेजः स्फुरति रविचन्द्राग्नितडितां
विचित्रं तेजोभ्यः किमपि च मनोवागविषयम् ॥
तदेवैतत्तेजः सजलजलदश्यामलतनु-
र्मनोहारी हारी व्रजवनविहारीह भवति ॥ III.38 ॥

किञ्च—

न गोप्यो न गोपा न गावो न वत्सा
न वा राजयस्ता घनानां वनानाम् ॥
खगा नो मृगा नो नगा नो, मनोज्ञं
विना कृष्णचन्द्रं न पश्यामि किञ्चित् ॥ III.39 ॥

11 नन्दनन्दनविनिर्मितामिमां रासकेलिमतुलां विलोक्य मे ॥
मानसं परशिवे ! हरौ हरेऽभेदमेव मनुते निरन्तरम् ॥ III.63 ॥

12 श्रीपार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ— [ससन्तोषम्]
राधे ! राधे ! जय जय सदा रासलीलेश्वरी त्वं
श्रीकृष्णेन्दो ! जय जय सदा रासलीलेश्वरस्त्वम् ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Kṛṣṇa and Śiva tell each other that they are one and not two.[13] Rādhā feels the separation of Śiva and Pārvatī.

The act IV delineates Mārkaṇḍeya as being sent to sage Upamanyu, after the performance of sacred thread ceremony (*Upanayana saṁskāra*). He returns with his precepter after finishing his studies. The parents were told by Upamanyu to have the *japa* of *Mṛtyuñjaya-mantra* to remove *ādhi*, *vyādhi* etc. of Mārkaṇḍeya.[14] They requested Upamanyu for the *Upadeśa* and the purpose of the *Mṛtyuñjaya-mantra*. Upamanyu took Mārkaṇḍeya to Candraśekhara Mahādeva's temple.

Then follows a dialogue between Gaṅgā and Godāvarī (pp. 49-53). They tell each other that how Viśālākṣī got bad dreams, e.g. attack of bad diseases come one by one to harass Mārkaṇḍeya and there is a dialogue between

---

प्रेमाम्भोधी नयनसुखदौ सच्चिदानन्दमूर्ती
चेतः कुञ्जे कुरुतमिह नौ सर्वदा रासलीलाम् ॥ III.64 ॥

श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रः—

क्व नन्दतनयो दयामृतमयाशयाऽहं प्रभो !
इयं च वृषभानुजा क्वदधिदुग्धतक्रक्रया ॥
त्वया शिव ! दयादृशा शिवदया रयान्निर्मितौ
समस्तसुखसागरौ सुरवरौ च मायेश्वरौ ॥ III.65 ॥

13 श्रीशङ्करः—

अयमहं तु हरे ! तव तत्त्ववित् त्वमपि तत्त्वविदग्रसरोऽसि मे ॥
किमथवा बहुना त्वमहं त्वहं त्वमसि देव वद क्व भिदाऽऽवयोः ? ॥ III.68 ॥

श्रीकृष्णः—सत्यमेव यदाह भगवान्—

ऐक्यमेव न भेदः श्रीसदाशिव ! सदाऽऽवयोः ।
आवयोरैक्यतत्त्वज्ञस्तत्वज्ञपदमाप्नुयात् ॥ III.70 ॥

अत एव—

न मद्भक्तोऽपि मद्भक्तो यस्त्वभक्तस्त्वयीश्वरे ॥
न ते भक्तोऽपि ते भक्तो यस्त्वभक्तो मयि प्रभो ॥ III.71 ॥

अत एव ममेयं प्रतिज्ञा—

परात्परतरं यान्ति नारायणपरायणाः ॥
न ते तत्र गमिष्यन्ति ये द्विषन्ति महेश्वरम् ॥ III.71a ॥

14 उपमन्युः—

मार्कण्डेयेन ते मित्र ! पुत्रेणानेन सर्वदा ॥
श्रीमान् मृत्युञ्जयो देवः सेवनीयोऽनुवासरम् ॥ IV.15 ॥
मन्त्रश्च तस्य जप्तव्य आधिव्याधिविनाशकृत् ॥
इति मे भाति तत्प्रेम्णा शङ्काशतवृतात्मनः ॥ IV.16 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the personified diseases. All the diseases tried to harass Mārkaṇḍeya in vain. (pp. 54-64). After the dream, Viśālākṣī requested Mṛkaṇḍa to go to the temple and inquire about Mārkaṇḍeya. And they bless Mārkaṇḍeya with a long life i.e. *Cirāyusaḥ* (p. 62).

In act V Dharma and Citragupta, tell how *Kāla, Mṛtyu* and other evil deputies failed in extracting Mārkaṇḍeya's life, because he was a devout worshipper of Lord Śiva and when they went there, the attendants of Lord Śiva protected him (pp. 65-70). Then Dharma himself went to take Mārkaṇḍeya's life and Śiva himself protected his life and Dharma saw Indra, Varuṇa and Kubera in the eastern, western and northern directions respectively. He went to the south, and he tried to extract his life but Mārkaṇḍeya was engrossed in worshipping Lord Śiva (V.37-44). He became unconscious, embracing the *Śivaliṅga*. From the *Śivaliṅga*, Śiva emerged in person. Then there is a beautiful dialogue between Śiva and Dharma (pp. 79-82).

He enjoins him not to deprive him of his life and he kicks him in chest with the consequence that he falls unconscious from his vehicle he-buffalo (pp.74-82). Indra, Varuṇa and Kubera remind Śiva that he had granted a boon of sixteen year's life-span. But, then, Śiva tells as he is the greatest worshipper of *Mṛtyuñjaya-japa*, he is pleased to grant him the life-span of a period of a *kalpa*[15] and asks him to ask for boons.

Thus from the life-span of sixteen years Mārkaṇḍeya, gets an amazing life span of one *kalpa* by worshipping Lord Śiva; while according to *Mahābhārata, Vanaparva*[16] his life-span is of 14 *Kalpas*.

At the end of the drama there is a *Bharatavākya* requesting Lord Śiva to have mercy and happiness on all human beings, animals (i.e. animate) and inanimate things on this earth.[17]

---

15 श्रीमृत्युञ्जयः—
स्वल्पायुरपि कल्पायुर्मृत्युञ्जयजपाद् भवेत् ॥
श्रीमृत्युञ्जयदेवस्य प्रसादात् परमेशितुः ॥ V.73 ॥
स्वल्पायुरपि कल्पायुस्तनयो युवयोरयम् ॥
कृतो मया दयादृष्ट्या तच्चिन्तां त्यजतं ततः ॥ V.98 ॥

16 *Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan*, Bhandarkar Saṁhitā, ed. ,130-32.

17 वर्षन्तु प्रतिवत्सरं जलधराः सञ्जीवनं जीवनम्
गोविप्राः सुखिनो भवन्तु जयिनो भूयासुरुर्वीश्वराः ॥
नानानन्दसुधाब्धिमग्नमनसः सर्वाः प्रजाः सर्वदा
श्रीमृत्युञ्जयदेवदेवकरुणालोकेन लोकेषु ते ॥ V.102 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sources, Deviations, Innovations and Critical Remarks:

In this drama, the author has made some innovations. In act Ist the mother's name of Mārkaṇḍeya is given as Viśālākṣī, while in the *Bhāgavata*[18], *Brahmāṇḍa*[19] and *Mārkaṇḍeya*[20] *purāṇa* the name is Manasvinī.

In the beginning of the act II Lord Śiva and Pārvatī are shown playing the game of chess, when Śiva is out of his mood and so Pārvatī asks the reason thereof.[21] Śiva replies that his worshippers Mṛkaṇḍa and his wife Viśālākṣī have spent three years in severe penance and there they had left food also and were surviving on wind as their food. He wanted to fulfil their desire. At that time Nārada comes there with the written message of Lord Kṛṣṇa that Śiva and Pārvatī should remain present at the *Rāsalīlā* programme and that he was waiting for them, and also that without their arrival, the *Rāsalīlā* would not start.[22] After pondering deeply Śiva sent Nārada to Mṛkaṇḍa and Viśālākṣī to grant them their coveted desire and they decided to attend the *Rāsalīlā*. Nārada went to Mṛkaṇḍa and Viśālākṣī and granted them the boon of having an omniscient son with a life-span of sixteen years.[23] In act III while witnessing the *Rāsalītā* Nārada suspects *Kāma*, *Krodha* and *Lobha* in Kṛṣṇa and he remarks that it is not proper for *Kṛṣṇa* to touch other women.[24] He quotes *Gītā* (16.21)—

---

18 *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, *Ibid.*, 4.1.43, 44.

19 *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, *Saṁvat* 1963, 2-11, 5-8.

20 *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, *Saṁvat*, 1967, 49.19.

21 अहह नाथ! मनः क्व तवाऽधुना?
कथमिदं विमना इव खेलसि? ॥
नृपतिरेष पराजयमेष्यति
त्रिचतुराभिरहो गतिभिः प्रभोः? ॥ II.७ ॥

22 राकाऽराकाऽशरदपि शरच्चन्द्रिकाऽचन्द्रिका सा
राधाऽराधा परशिवतवाऽसन्निधौ श्रीपतेर्मे ॥
रासोल्लासः प्रभवति तदा साम्बशम्भो यदात्वं
देव्या सार्द्धं भवसि शिवया रत्नसिंहासनस्थः ॥ II.17 ॥

23 नारदः—वत्से! यद्येवं तर्हि—
द्व्यष्टवर्षप्रमाणायुः सर्वज्ञः सद्गुणार्णवः ॥
सनयस्तनयो भावी सदाशिवपदाश्रयः ॥ II.41 ॥

24 सन्मार्गस्खलनं विवेकदलनं प्रज्ञालतोन्मूलनं-
गाम्भीर्योद्वहनं धृतेश्च शमनं नीचत्वसम्पादकम् ॥
सद्ध्यानावरणं त्रपापहरणं पापप्रपापूरणं
धिक्कष्टं परदारवीक्षणमपि त्याज्यं कुलीनेन तत् ॥ III.29 ॥

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Trividhaṁ narakasyedaṁ dvāraṁ nāśanamātmaṇaḥ /
Kāmaḥ krodhastathā lobhastasmādetat trayaṁ tyajet //

(Act III, p. 31)

and further he remarks that—

Nahīdṛśamanāyuṣyaṁ loke kiñcana vidyate /
Yādṛśaṁ puruṣasyeha paradārābhimarśanaṁ //

(Act III, p. 31)

Then at the end Pārvatī explains to Nārada that Lord Kṛṣṇa was the highest metaphysical identity.[25]

According to Vallabhācārya, Kṛṣṇa is the highest entity. Vallabhācārya says (1) "*Param Brahma tu Kṛṣṇo hi saccidānandakaṁ bṛhat*"[26] (2) *Paramānandarūpe tu Kṛṣṇe Svātmani niścayaḥ*,[27] (3) *Kṛṣṇātparaṁ nāsti daivaṁ vastuto doṣavarjitaṁ*,[28] (4) *Tasmāt sarvātmanā nityaṁ Śrīkṛṣṇaḥ śaraṇaṁ mama*,[29] etc. in his philosophy. Thus here we see the influence of Vallabhācārya on our author.

In this very act, Kṛṣṇa told that the penance of sixteen years was responsible for inner vision. By this only one can get the highest fruit of life i.e. Salvation. Here, the author, thus, tries to show us that the Lord Kṛṣṇa and Lord Śiva are one. In this drama Mārkaṇḍeya worshipped Lord Śiva and by His grace, he got extended his life-span from sixteen years to one *kalpa*, so for this reason only here the Lord Śiva is superior.

The drama has also some supernatural elements, e.g. *Kṛṣṇakaruṇā* and *Śaṅkarakaruṇā* in the third act ; river Gaṅgā and Godāvarī, different diseases like *manastāpa, jvara, hṛtkaṁpa, atisāra, krodha, kāma, saṅgrahiṇī, bhaya, pāṇḍu, rājayakṣmā*, etc. in the fourth act.

The drama seems to run over a period of twenty years and between the two acts and scenes, there is a gap of many years, i.e. between 1st act and IInd act a gap of 3 years ; 5 years gap between IIIrd and IVth acts ; 11 years gap between IVth and Vth act, in the IV act 11 years gap between two scenes is

---

25 (i) श्री पार्वती

अयं स्वयं नारद ! कृष्णचन्द्रोऽस्त्येकः परं तत्त्वमिदं मृषाऽन्यत् ॥
शक्तिः परा चास्य तु राधिकेयं यया विचित्रं रचितं हि विश्वम् ॥ III.40 ॥

(ii) Also Kṛṣṇa says :

षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि तपः कृत्वा हिमाचले ॥
शम्भोः करुणया लब्धा प्रिये ! दृष्टिरियं मया ॥ III.88 ॥

26 Bhatt, G. H., *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*; *Soḍaśagrantha* of Vallabhācārya, 1950, p. 39, 3ab.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 46. St. 11cd,

28 *Antaḥkaraṇaprabodha, Ibid.*, p. 97. St. 1cd,

29 *Navaratnagranthaḥ, Ibid.*, p. 95. St. 9ab,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

seen, but these gaps are bridged very nicely. In *Winter's Tale* by Shakespeare there is a time-gap of 15 years and it is also bridged up very nicely. In *Uttararāmacaritaṁ* of Bhavabhūti also we see a time-gap of 12 years.

As the drama is allegorical, and lyrical[30] one, the action is very slow and reminds one of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacaritaṁ*. There are long dialogues between two characters hindering the progress of action.

Characterization :

In this drama, the main characters are Mṛkaṇḍa, Viśālākṣī, Śaṅkara, Pārvatī, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Nārada and Mārkaṇḍeya, who are painted vividly with their characteristics. Minor characters are Upamanyu, Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, the diseases, *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *Śaṅkara-karuṇā*, *Kṛṣṇa-karuṇā*, Dharma and Citragupta etc. It is seen that the abstract concepts are personified here and presented as characters. It may be noted that in allegorical plays concepts are personified and presented as characters. Thus this drama is also allegorical.

Mṛkaṇḍa and Viśālākṣī both husband and wife are very innocent having good nature and devoted to Lord Śiva.

The author of the play is a Śaivaite as gleaned from the play. In the benedictory stanza, he praises Lord Śiva and Pārvatī. It is to be noted that he has a good regard for Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā also as is amply evident from the play. And so throughout the drama, he expounds that Kṛṣṇa and Śiva are identical, there is a non-distinction between the two divinities.[31] During the whole of third act, the poet has emphasized the *abheda-bhāvanā* of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Lord Śiva, but he points out that sometimes Śiva is superior to Kṛṣṇa (as in this drama) and tries at the same time to demonstrate that there is no difference between Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, thus, evolving a synthesis between the two. This may be a reflection of the situation prevailing at that time at Jamnagar and Morvi. Also significant is a reference to *Gopālopāsanā* made by Pārvatī.[32]

Literary Style :

The drama is written in a very simple and lucid style. The poet has not employed very long compounds and lexical words. In simple, lucid and flowing Sanskrit, he has effectively and forcefully presented his theme. Thus the literary style of the author may be said to be *Vaidarbhī*.

---

30 In act I there are 29 stanzas, in act II 47, in act III 89, in act IV 52 and in act V 102.

31 हरौ हरेऽभेदमेव मनुते निरन्तरम् ॥ III.63 ॥

for other examples see ff. 13 above.

32 In the IIIrd act Pārvatī tells Nārada—

भगवन् ! अत्र कः सन्देहः ? श्रीगोपालस्योपासनं श्रवणं दर्शनं स्मरणं चानपत्यदोष-सन्दोहदाहकमिति पुराणेतिहासेषु प्रसिद्धमेव ॥ (p. 17).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The poet has used many metres like Anuṣṭubh, Vasantatilakā, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Āryā, Mālinī, Indravajrā etc. He has also very ably used simile, metaphor and other figures of speech at the proper places.

The very fact that this dialogues are also very interesting and lively shows the calibre of author as a dramatist, proving that the author has his own place in the history of modern Sanskrit literature.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

THE HISTORICITY OF RĀMA AND RĀMĀYAṆA : AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH

By

ARUNKUMAR, Agra

I.0–

In recent years the historicity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* has been made a point of serious academic debate. The debate has, however, been much vitiated by the religious susceptibilities for in India Rāma is accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu—the godhead. But the academic discussion should, irrespective of one's religious feelings and beliefs, always remain at a dispassionate level and the facts should never be evaluated under the pressure of passions. The present author has tried in the following pages to review the evidence only in the spirit of scientific inquiry and begs to be excused for the inevitable conclusions which may not be palatable to some.

I.1–

To check the historicity of any event we have in India only two classes of literature, viz. the Vedas and the Purāṇas. The former, though religious in content and context, contain numerous incidential allusions to persons and events that, in view of the freedom from the interpolations and the textual corruption of the texts as also the non-partisan attitude of their authors appear to be quite trustworthy and can be taken as historical facts. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, contain lists that profess to trace the unbroken, albeit legendary, history of the royal dynasties from the first human king downwards. But, owing to the open nature of these texts that attracted interpolations, their pronounced sectarian and regional bias and consequent discrepancies between the texts of the different Purāṇas, their credibility is not always beyond doubt. Therefore it seems to be legitimate to take their testimony as valid only when corroborated by the Vedic evidence.

I.2–

Now coming to the two books under reference, while the *Mahābhārata* is traditionally accepted as *Itihāsa* i.e history (or, as S. B. Roy interprets, 'modern' or 'current' history),[1] the *Rāmāyaṇa* is universally acknowledged as an *Ādi Kāvya* which, by definition, is based on a story that may or may not be historical. However, on the basis of the genealogies provided by the Purāṇas,[2] the kernels of both these epics seem to be historical. But, in view of what has been observed above, their historicity can not be accepted unless corroborated by the

1 Roy S. B., *Date of Mahābhārata Battle*, Gurgaon 1976, p. 40.

2 Pargiter F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1972, pp. 144-149.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Vedic sources and here begins our trouble. The purely political events described in the *Mahābhārata* are not mentioned as such in the Vedic literature; yet the numerous incidential references throughout it lend credence to the inherent probability of the same. Though not all the main characters of the Great Epic find mention in the Vedas, the mention of Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra,[3] Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya,[4] Khāṇḍava[5] and, above all, of the *Kuru-Pāñcālas*[6] in the Brāhmaṇas seems to suggest the essential historicity of the people about whom the *Mahābhārata* is concerned. Further, while the *Sūtras* appear to know not only the disastrous war of the *Kauravas*[7] but also the existence of the teachers well-versed in the lore of the various developmental stages of the Great Epic,[8] Pāṇini, the great grammarian who flourished not later than the 5th century B.C., clearly indicates the deification of Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva and Arjuna (iv. 3.98) and also explains the formation of the name Yudhiṣṭhira (viii. 3.95) and the *Mahābhārata* (vi. 2.38). This seems to suggest that at least by the beginning of the 5th century B.C., the *Mahābhārata* was well known and its heroes were even worshipped.

I.3–

The same, however, cannot be asserted with regard to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But for a few doubtful references to the names (?) of *Ikṣvāka*,[9] Daśaratha,[10] and Rāma who is, curiously enough, called as *Asura*[11] in the *Ṛgveda* and Janaka Vaideha[12] and Aśvapati Kaikeya[13] in the latter texts, the whole of the Vedic

---

3 The *Ṛṣi* of R. V. X. 42-44 is Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa, who is also mentioned in R. V., VIII, 85.3-4 and *K.B.*, xxx.9. In R.V.,X.43.5, he refers to the revenge due to the loss in gambling—also the subject of the *Mahābhārata*. Further the *Ṛṣi* of R.V., x/90 is Nārāyaṇa-yet another name of Kṛṣṇa who in his *Gītā* seems only to have developed his thoughts propounded in the hymn. In *C.U.*, 3.17.3 Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra is mentioned as a pupil of one *Ghora Āṅgirasa* See—S. B. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111. Further, the instance of "*Akrūro dadate maṇim*" as given by *Yāska* (Nirukta, 2.2.) also suggests the popularity of Kṛṣṇa's story in his times.

4 *K.S.*, x.6.

5 *T.Ā.*, V.1.1.; *P.B.*, XXV.3.6.

6 For the numerous references, see : A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Delhi 1958, I, pp. 165-70 and 468-9.

7 *Ś.Ś.S.*, xv.16.

8 *Ā.G.S.*, III.4.4 :....*prācīnāvītī Sumaṅtu Jaimini Vaiśaṁpāyana Paila Sūtrabhāṣya Bhārata Mahābhārata Dharmāchāryāḥ*. This text, on the basis of the occurrence of '*Dhruvaṁ paśya*, (I.7.22), has been astronomically dated by S. B. Roy, to 1290 B.C. (*Ancient India*, Delhi 1974, p. 62).

9 R.V., x.60.4; A.V., xiv.39.9.

10 R.V., 1.126.4.

11 R.V., X.93.14b :.....*pra Rāme vocamasure maghavastu*.

12 T.B., III.10.9; *Ś.B.*, XI.3.1.2-4; 4.3.20; 6.2.1-10; 6.3.1; *J.B.*, 1.19; III.76.77; *ŚĀ.*, VI.1; *B.U.*, II.1.1; III.1.1-2; IV.1.4; V.14.8; *K.U.*, IV.1. In all these references Janaka is always associated with the sage Yājnavalkya.

13 *Ś.B.*, X.6.1.2; *C.U.*, V.11.4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

literature maintains a sinister silence about anything connected with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. None of the various references to Sītā therein[14] can stand for the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the daughter of Janaka. Similarly, even the Ikṣvāku's connection with Kosala and Sarayū is nowhere in evidence;[15] on the other-hand, indications are not wanting that the *Ikṣvāku* line was originally a line of *Puru* princes. Thus, once Purukutsa is called an *Aikṣvāka*[16] and elsewhere his son Tryaruṇa Trasadasya (R.V., v. 27.3) is named is Tryaruṇa Traidhātya *Aikṣvāka*.[17] Of course Ayodhyā is mentioned once in the *Atharvaveda* but it is only an allegorical city of the gods[18] and has nothing to do with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* unless it is accepted to have evolved out of a zodiacal myth contained in the above passage as read in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.[19] This silence is scrupulously continued even by Pāṇini who mentions neither Vālmīki and his *Rāmāyaṇa* nor any other leading characters mentioned therein. Therefore, the suggestion of Bulcke[20] that the mention of such general names as Kausalyā (v. 1.155) Kaikeyī (vii. 3.2) and Śūrpaṇakhā (vi. 2-122) are suggestive of the incipient existence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* lore seems to be untenable.

I.4–

The above facts seem to make it clear that while the Kernel of the Great Epic—the *Mahābhārata* can be traced to the Vedic literature, even the germs of the *Ādi Kāvya*—the *Rāmāyaṇa* are not known to the same. It would, therefore, be quite reasonable to conclude that the latter is non-Vedic i.e. either pre-Vedic or post-Vedic. The first probability, though suggested by the relegation of *Rāma* to *Tretā*, loses much of its weight when we consider the other references in the

---

14 See Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, II, p. 451.

15 Zimmer, as quoted in *ibid.*, I. p. 75, places them on the upper Indus and P.L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow 1956, concurs with him. In the *Mahābhārata* the *āśrama* of Vasiṣṭha, so intimately connected with the *Ikṣvākus*, is said to have been situated in the desert in the north-western Rajasthan (I.165) and his attempts at suicide, after his debacle at the hands of Viśvāmitra, in the rivers Vipāśa and Śutudrī (I.167) seem to connect him only with the lands west of Kurukṣetra and not to its east in Kosala and Ayodhyā.

16 *Ś.B.*, XIII.5.4.5.

17 *P.B.*, XIII.3.12—translated by W. Caland, Calcutta 1931, pp. 313-4.

18 *A.V.*, X.2.31-33 :

Aṣṭacakrā navadvārā devānāṁ pūrayodhyā,
*tasyāṁ hiraṇyayaḥ kośaḥ svargo jyotiṣāvṛtaḥ.*31
tasmin hiraṇyaye koṣe tryare tripratiṣṭhite,
*tasmin yad Yakṣmatmanvat tad vai brāhmavido viduḥ.*32
prabhrājamānāṁ hariṇīṁ yaśasā saṁparīvṛtām,
*puraṁ hiraṇyayīṁ brahmā viveśāparājitām.*33
cf.*T.Ā.*, I.27.

19 Shamasastry, R. "Ayodhyā : The City of the Gods", *D. R. Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 77-78.

20 Bulke, C., *Rāmakathā : Utpatti aura Vikāsa* (Hindi), Allahabad 1971, p. 32.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

later Vedic texts which are highly suggestive of its being a post-Vedic incident, if it was really an incident.

I.5-

Thus, at one place it is said that "Janaka (king) of Videha performed a sacrifice at which... Brahmanas of the *Kurus* and the *Pāñcālas* were gathered together."[21] During the course of ensuing ritual discussion in that assembly one Bhujyu Lāhyāyani asked Yājñavalkya: What has become of the descendents of Parīkṣit-*Kva Pārīkṣitā abhavan*? He had already asked the same question to one Sudhanvan *Āṅgirasa*, a *gandharva* who had possessed the daughter of one Patañcala Kāpya in Madra.[22] This implies that at the time of the question asked in the presence of the king Janaka of Videha, the descendents of Parīkṣit were no more but their life and times were still fresh in the folk-memory and formed a subject of absorbing interest.[23] This, if accepted, would suggest the posteriority of Janaka of Videha to the Pārīkṣitas of *Kuru Pāñcāla*. But as the name Janaka was also a family name,[24] the proposed identity of this Upaniṣadic Janaka with the father of Sītā, whose personal name was Sīradhvaja, is doubted. But it would be interesting to note that Bhavabhūti also associates, like the Upaniṣads, Yājñavalkya with Janaka Sīradhvaja.[25] The correctness of this surmise is further proved by the Upaniṣads themselves where this Janaka is made a contemporary of Aśvapati Kaikeya, the maternal grandfather of Bharata. It is said that Uddālaka Āruṇi and Budila[26] Aśvatarāśvi frequented the courts of both these kings.

I.6-

That this Janaka (and his senior contemporary Aśvapati Kaikeya) flourished in the sixth generation after Janamejaya is proved by the *Vidyāvaṁśa* contained in the later Vedic texts. Thus, Tura[27] Kāvaseya, who performed the *Aindra mahābhiṣeka* for Janamejaya, is said to be a very ancient sage being 10th

---

21 *B.U.*, III.1.1.—Radhakrishan S., *The Principal Upanisads*, London, 1953, p. 211.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 218-*B.U.*, III.3.1.

23 Roychaudhuri H. C., *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 49.

24 Pargiter F. E., *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 96, etc.

25 Roychoudhry, *op. cit.*, p. 56, qoutes *Mahāvīracarita* II

teṣāmidāniṁ dāyādo vṛddhaḥ Sīradhvajo nṛpaḥ,
*Yājñavalkyo muniryasmai brahmapārāyaṇaṁ jagau.*43

cf. *Uttararāmacarita* IV : *says* Arundhatī—

eṣa vaḥ ślāghya saṁbandhī Janakānāṁ kulodvahaḥ,
*Yājñavalkyo Muniryasmai brahmapārāyaṇaṁ jagau.*9
Kausalyā—eso so mahārāassa hiaaṇi vvisseso vaccāe me
vahūe pidā videha rāo Sīraddhao.....

26 *C.U.*, V.II.1-4; *B.U.*, III.6.1; V.14.8.

27 *A.B.*, VIII.21 : *etena ha vā aindreṇa mahābhiṣekeṇa Turaḥ Kāvaṣeyo Janamejayaṁ Pārīkṣitam abhiṣiṣeca..* ; cf. VII.34 *etanu haiva provāca Turaḥ Kāvaṣeyo Janamejayāya Pārīkṣitāya.....*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

in ascent from Sāṁjīvīputra.[28] The latter is, again, said to be 5th and 4th in descent from Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya.[29] In accepting this genealogical position we cannot be far removed from the truth. It is proved by the fact that one Baka Dālbhi or Dālbhya of *Kuru Pāñcāla* is shown as answering the ritual questions put to him by both Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya[30] and Bhageratha *Aikṣvāka*[31] who, according to the Purāṇic lists, was 20 generations above Rāma of *Rāmāyaṇa*.[32]

I.7–

It has been averred that "the episode of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (IIII.1.III.3.1.) is .. irrelevant in this context.... If Rāma was later than Parikṣit... he must have been a successor of Bṛhatkṣaya. But his name does not appear in the Purāṇic *Aikṣvāka* lists from Bṛhatkṣaya to Prasenajit, a contemporary of Buddha."[33] But here it should be borne in mind that in the Purāṇas we find not only the numerous cases of inversions and anachronisms[34] but also the tendency of the diaskeuasts to often evolve fictitious genealogies to launch a new dynasty or to accommodate a popular hero. It is not improbable that Rāma was only a *Kāvya* hero who was later accommodated, in view of his popularity, in the Purāṇic traditions and was placed, with all his antecedents, much earlier in time only because the recent past was too well known to plagiarise. It is suggested not only by the utter absence of any bardic lore in his favour as late as the 4th century B.C., but also by the lack of any coherent astronomical observations such as are often met with in the *Mahābhārata* and other early texts. The composition of the *Ādi Rāmāyaṇa* in circa 3rd century B.C.[35] for expounding the message of *Vaiṣṇava Dharma* through a story, perhaps to counteract the increasing influence and popularity of the *Dhamma* of Aśoka based on the ideals of *Bodhisattva*, also points in the same direction. Even the introductory verses of the *Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa* seem to suggest the search for

---

28 *Ś.B.*, X.6.5.9; *B.U.*, VI.5.4.

29 *B.U.*, VI.5.3.

30 *K.S.*, X.6.

31 *J.U.B.*, IV.6.1 : *Bhageratho haikṣvāko rājā kāma preṇa yajñenna yakṣyamāṇa-āsa*.1; *taduh Kuru Pāñcālānāṁ Brāhmaṇā ūcuḥ*....2; IV.6.2. : *etān hainān pañca praśnān papraccha*.1 *teṣāṁ ha Kurupāñcālānāṁ Baka Dālbhyo'nūcāna āsa*....2.

32 Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

33 Gupta, S. P. and Ramchandran, K. S., *Mahābhārata : Myth and Reality*, Delhi 1979, A. Ghosh's paper, p. 156.

34 To give just one instance the story of Hariścandra and his son Rohita may be referred to here. He and his son both are connected in the Purāṇās with Kāsī and Gaṅgā, a river which is said to have been brought down only by the efforts of Bhagiratha. In the genealogical lists (Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-49), however, the latter is placed about 12 generations after Hariścandra whose number is 33. In the Vedic literature (*A.B.*, VIII.14 and *Ś.Ś.S.*, XV.17), however, Hariścandra and his son Rohita are not associated with either the Gaṅgā or Kāsī.

35 Bulcke, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

an ideal hero.[36] That eventually this search was successful is proved by the eulogy showered on *Rāmacarita* in the *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha* (36.44)[37]—*Rāmacaritaṁ sanmanovṛttipradaṁ.*

II.1-

The above hypothesis seems to be in conformity with the overall picture of the gradually expanding and east-ward shifting geographical horizon of the Vedic literature. Thus, while the Ṛgvedic horizon is virtually confined to the valleys of 'the seven *Sindhus*',[38] in the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas the geographical focus seems to have shifted to the *Kuru Pāñcāla* in the *Madhyadeśa*[39] It is in this period that the sacrificial fire i.e. the Vedic culture was carried by Videgha Māthava and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa from the bank of the river Sarasvatī for the first time to the swampy land beyond the river Sadānīrā, which has since then formed the boundary between Kosala and Videha.[40] Subsequently, in the Sūtras and the Upaniṣads we notice a further widening of the geographical horizons.[41]

II.2-

This picture of ever widening and eastward shifting geographical horizons from the literary sources seems to agree admirably with the one based on the hitherto known archaeological sources. The gradual south-ward and east-ward movement of the Harappan and the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures from the Sindhu-Sarasvatī[42] valleys to Gujarat, Madhya Pradesha and then to

---

36 *Vālmikīya Rāmāyaṇa* I.1.2.-5 :

ko nvasmin sāṁpratam loke guṇavān kaśca vīryavān,
dharmajñaśca kṛtajñaśca satyavākyo dṛḍhavrataḥ.2
cāritreṇa ca ko yuktaḥ sarvabhūteṣu ko hitaḥ,
vidvān kaḥ kaḥ samarthaśca kaścaika priyadarśanaḥ.3
ātmavān ko jitakrodho dyutimān ko'nasūyakaḥ,
kasya bibhyati devāśca jātaroṣasya saṁyuge.4
etadicchāmyahaṁ śrotuṁ paraṁ kautūhalaṁ hi me,.....5

37 '*Rāmāṅkaṁ bhajato mamāpi kaluṣo bhāvo na saṁjāyate*'—quoted by Bulcke, *op. cit.*, p. 741.

38 Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalker A.D. (ed.), *The Vedic Age*, London 1952, pp. 241-50.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 252-62.

40 *Ś.B.*, I.4.1.14-17 :....*Sarasvatyāṁ sa tata eva prāṅdahanna bhimāyemāṁ pṛthivīṁ taṁ Gotamaśca Rāhūgaṇo Videghaśca Māthavaḥ paścād dahan tam anvīyatuḥ; sa imāḥ sarvā nadir ati- dadāha Sadānīrā . . . na atidadāha; tāṁ ha sma tāṁ purā Brāhmaṇā taranty anatidagdhāgninā Vaiśvānareṇeti*-14;. . .*prācinaṁ bahavo Brāhmaṇās taddhakṣetrataram ivāsa srāvitaram iva asvaditam agninā Vaiśvānareṇeti*-15;..... *kṣetrataramiva Brāhmaṇā u hi nūnam enadyajñairasiṣvadant*.....16; *sa hovāca videgho Māthavaḥ kvāhaṁ bhavān ityata eva te prācinaṁ bhuvanam iti hovāca saiṣāpy etarhi Videhānāṁ maryādā*.....17.

41 Majumdar and Pusalker, *op.cit.*

42 Agarwal, D. P. and Kusumgar, S., *Prehistoric Chronology and Radiocarbon Dating in India*, Delhi, 1974.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Maharashtra on the one hand and to Yamunā-Gaṅgā valleys and beyond upto Kosala, Kāśī and Videha[43] on the other seems to faithfully reflect the picture delineated above.

II.3-

The linguistic evidence, too, points in the same direction. Apart from a few minor though independent groups, we have only two major language families, viz. the Aryan and the Dravidian, in India. Therefore, if the Harappan and the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures were, as is generally believed, non-Aryan/Dravidian, we could have certainly found many more and significant lexical borrowings in the Vedic literature than those listed by Burrow.[44] These few and rather insignificant Dravidian borrowings in the later Vedic literature indicate only a fleeting contact which accords well with the persistent though negligible neolithic substratum associated with the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures in only the Central and Western India and not in the Sindhu-Sarasvatī valleys.[45] The period of maximum Dravidian borrowings and consequently of intensive contacts is that of the classical Sanskrit language during the second half of the first millennium B.C., when the Iron Age had already established itself throughout India and the literature for the first time starts showing a continental bias. Similarly, the tolerance of the cross-cousin marriages representing the transition between the exogamous north and endogamous south in Maharastra also parallels the first real impingement of the southern Neolithic cultures by the post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures from the north.[46] These

43 Though the farthest known extent of the late Harappan/O.C.P. in east is only upto Kanpur and Lucknow-Sitapur, the discovery of some painted black over-red ware in association with the fragments of dishes-on-stand from Kausambi (Sharma G. R., *The Excavations at Kausambi*, 1957-59, Allahabad 1960, pp. 57 58, figs. 9-10), of some ochrous sherds and a parallel-sided chert blade at Kamauli, Varanasi (*I.A.R.* 1963-64, p. 58) and of a red ware dish-on-stand at Manjhi (*I.A.R.*, 1967-68, p. 9) on the north bank of the Gaṅgā in Saran district, Bihar, are indicative of the trend. The recent discovery of a late Harappan assemblage in the Belan valley to the east of Allahabad, when confirmed, would go a long way in corroborating our view; see : *Times of India*, Delhi September 24, 1978, p. 3—bottom.

44 Burrow T., *The Sanskrit Language*, London 1965 pp. 373-88. The absence of the cerebrals in the other Into-European languages had led Burrow to explain their presence in the Sanskrit language, right from the *Ṛgveda* onwards, as due to the Dravidian influence. But in his two recent articles he has retracted his earlier view and now thinks the cerebrals as having a spontaneous growth. See—"Spontaneous Cerebrals in Sanskrit", *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXXIV, 1971, pp. 538-59 and "A Reconsideration of Fortunatov's Law', *ibid.*, XXXV, 1972, pp. 531-45.

45 Arunkumar, *Post-Harappan Chalcolithic Cultures of Western India*, Ph. D. Thesis, Nagpur University, 1970, chapters 6 and 10.

46 It was first pointed out by Prof. C. Von Führer Haimendorf to explain the spatial distribution of the megaliths. But if the megalith-builders were really the Dravidians and the P.G.W. peoples the Aryans, we would be left wondering about the Harappans and the post-Harappan Chacolithic people, who should then be presumed to have vanished from such vast a scene without leaving any tangible traces of their existence in the linguistic make up of India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

evidences, viewed in the light of the fact that right from the beginning of the settled life in the Indian sub-continent we do not find in any of the hitherto known archaeological assemblages any evidence of mass-migration[47] seem to strengthen our identification of the Harappan and post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures with that of the Aryans.[48]

II.4-

As indicated elsewhere, the end of the Late Harappan—O.C.P. and the beginning of the P. G. Ware roughly coincides with the period of the *Mahābhārata* war at the juncture of *Dvāpara-Kali*.[49] In this scheme of things, the P. G. Ware would represent the onslaughts of the *Śūdrābhīras* in the *Kuru-Pāñcāla* and Śūrasena regions.[50]

See-' New Aspects of the Dravidian Problem ', *Tamil Culture*, II.1., 1953 and *Indo-Asian Culture*, II.3, 1964.

47 On the basis of the appearance of a few exotic traits Sankalia has mooted the idea of colonization. But these alien-looking objects indicate only the slow infiltration of a few knick-knacks and can not be taken as an evidence of an actual mass-movement of people such as can be inferred e.g. from the study of the materials from Harappa-Mohenjodaro to Lothal-Rangpur on the one hand and to Kalibangan-Rakhigarhi on the other. See—" Prehistoric Colonization in India : Archaeological and Literary evidence " *Purātattva*, 8, 1975-76, pp. 72-86.

48 Arunkumar, ' A suggested synchronism between ..... the *Ṛgveda* and the Early Protohistoric Cultures of India ', *P.A.I.O.C., 26th Session* 1972, Poona 1975, pp. 282-91. Recently Amarendra Nath and R. P. Sharma also seem to have arrived at similar conclusions. See : Gupta and Ramchandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 and 215-8 respectively.

49 Arunkumar, *op.cit.*, pp. 290-1.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 285 note 29. The equation of the P.G.W. with " the early ways of the Indo-Aryan immigrants in India " Thapar B. K., ' The Aryans : A Reappraisal of the Problem ' —in *India's Contribution To World Thought and Culture, A Vivekananda Comm. Vol.*, (Ed.). Lokesha Chandra and S. P. Gupta, Delhi 1970, pp. 147-164) is negated by the above mentioned gradually expanding and eastward shifting geographical horizon of the Vedic literature, which is too vast to be crowded in so short and late a time span as from c. 800 to 400 B.C. Further, while the P.G.W. is necessarily an Iron Age product the Vedic literature is unaware of this new metal (Arunkumar, " *Ayasa* and Related words : Their meaning and bearing on the.....Proto-historic Cultures of India ", *A.I.O.C., 27th Session, S. P.*, Kurukṣetra 1974, pp. 210-11). The author is quite aware of the recent discoveries of the overlap of late Harappan with Iron-free P.G.W. at Bhagwanpura. Joshi J. P., ' A note on the Excavation at Bhagwanpura '. *Purātattva*, 8, 1975-76, pp. 178-80 and also his paper read at the seminar on " *The Indus Civilisation* " : " *Problems and Issues* ", held at Simla in November, 1977 but as demonstrated by G. G. Mujumdar and K. T. M. Hegde (" The Painted Grey ware of India ", *Antiquity*, XLIX.1975, pp. 187-90) the knowledge of Iron technology, as distinct from its daily use, was a concomitant of the production of the P. G. Ware. Incidentally, the Bhagwanpura evidences of overlap seem to support the astronomical dating of the *Mahābhārata* War to c. 1432 B.C. See—Roy, *op.cit.*, 1976; K. C. Verma, " Pāñcālī-Her Historicity and Date ", *Kurubhārati*, Feb. 1976, pp. 12-44 and also the notes of these two scholars in : Gupta and Ramchandran, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-92 and 93-95 respectively.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In the model proposed above, the *Rāmāyaṇa* episode based on Ayodhyā on the Sarayū in Kosala does not fit in. Therefore, unless the *Rāmāyaṇa* is based on a non-Aryan legend subsequently Aryanized,[51] the main incidents of the *Ādi-Kāvya*, if anterior to the *Mahābhārata* war, could only have occurred to the west of *Kurukṣetra*.[52] But, in view of the geographical setting of the main story, it can, in all likelihood, be placed in the post-*Mahābhārata* war period and located in *Avadha*, *Kāśī* and *Videha*.

III.2–

This will appear, on the face of it, contrary to the general impression that the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows a formative stage and is more "therianthropic, totemistic and atypical" than the *Mahābhārata*.[53] But this apparent primitiveness of the *Rāmāyaṇa* need not necessarily be an indication of its antiquity. It can, on the contrary, be also the result of the peculiar historico-cultural circumstances obtaining at the time of the break-up of the old Copper-Bronze age and the ushering in of the new Iron age. After the final swallowing up of the remmants of the once civilized Harappans and their impoverished Chalcolithic descendants by the different eco-systems of their new-found habitat and the enormous socio-technological stresses consequent upon the introduction of a new metal i.e. Iron, the life must have stagnated and lagged behind and the civilisation had necessarily to be discovered and established afresh. This as well as the confinement of the geographical horizon of the essential *Rāmāyaṇa* beyond *Kosala*, *Kāśī* and *Videha* to only Daṇḍākāraṇya and to its south and east, where even during the middle of the first millennium B.C. only the late Stone Age and Neolithic survivals are encountered, seems to be the backdrop against which the so-called 'therianthropic and totemeotic' *Rāmāyaṇa* is to be understood. Sankalia's studies,[54] but for his dilemma of reconciling the tradition of a pre-*Mahābhārata* war *Rāmāyaṇa* with the post-*Mahābhārata* war horizons of the cultural elements therein, also point in the same direction.

Abbreviations

A.B.,	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
Ā.G.S.,	*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.*
(P).A.I.O.C. (S.P.),	(Proceedings of the) All India Oriental Conference (Summaries of Papers).
A.V.,	*Atharva Veda.*
B.S.O.A.S.,	*Bulletion of the School of Oriental and African Studies.*

51 Majumdar and Pusalkar, *op.cit.*, S. K. Chatterji's paper, p. 165.

52 Gupta and Ramchandran, *op.cit.*, K. V. Soundararajan's paper, p. 210.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

54 Sankalia H. D., *Rāmāyaṇa : Myth and Reality.*, Delhi, 1973 and his note in : Gupta and Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, pp. 142-47.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

B.U.,	*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*
C.U.,	*Chāndogya Upaniṣad.*
J.U.B.,	*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.*
K.B..	*Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.*
K.S.,	*Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā.*
K.U.,	*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad.*
P.B.,	*Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa.*
R.V.	*Ṛgveda.*
Ś.Ā..	*Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka.*
Ś.B.,	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Ś.Ś.S.,	*Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
T.Ā.	*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*
T.B.,	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SANSKRIT EVIDENCE FOR THE PRESENCE OF ARABS, JEWS, AND PERSIANS IN WESTERN INDIA : CA. 700-1300

By

DAVID PINGREE, Providence, R.I. (U.S.A.)

Arab traders had sailed to India for centuries before the rise of Islam, and were undoubtedly members of the Yavana communities that flourished on the Western coast of India in the early centuries of the Christian era[1]. One indication of the continuation of this trade by Muslims in the seventh century is the version of the events leading up to the conquest of Sind in 711 found in the *Ta'rīkh al-Sind* composed by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm in the 1590's. In this account, the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705) is said to have sent ships belonging to Syrian merchants to (Western) India to purchase female slaves and rich stuffs ; on their return, they put in at Daybul, the port of the *Brāhmaṇa* king of Sind, Dahar, only to be siezed by pirates. A rival account, in the earlier *Chachnāma*, states that the ship carried gifts from the king of Ceylon, and that on board were Muslim women making a pilgrimage to Mecca.[2] Obviously, if this second version of the story is true, there were already Muslim communities in Ceylon or Western India in the late seventh century.

But, the earliest Sanskrit records of Muslims from Western India date from the 730's. Two copper plate grants of the Gurjura ruler of Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach), Jayabhaṭa IV, state that the ruler defeated the Tājjikas in the city of the lord of Valabhī. The first of these plates, found at Kāvī in the Jambūsara Taluka of Broach District, is dated 22 June 736[3]; the second, whose find-spot is unknown, is dated 9 October 736[4]. The use of the term Tājika for Arab (or Muslim) is of interest; it is derived from the Pahlavī Tāzīg, from the name of the Arab tribe, Ṭayyi', and demonstrates that the Indians first learned of the Arabs from the Iranians as their name for the Greeks, Yavana (from Old Persian Yauna), demonstrates the same process. The Arab attack on Valabhī (modern Vala in the Bhavanagara District in Saurāṣṭra), the capital of the Maitrakas, is usually associated with the raids organized by al-Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Murrī, the governor of Sind under the Caliph Hishām (724-743).[5] The history

1 Pingree, D., *The Yavanjātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, *HOS* 48, Cambridge, Mass. 1978. Some of the material discussed in this paper is referred to by A. Ghosh and R. S. Avasthy, " References to Muhammadans in Sanksrit Inscriptions in Northern India—A.D. 730 to 1720 ", *Journal of Indian History* 15, 1936, pp. 161-184, and 16, 1937 pp. 24-26.

2 Lambrick, H. T., *Sind Before the Muslim Conquest*, Hyderabad-Sind 1973, p. 183.

3 *CII*, vol. 4, pp. 96-102.

4 *CII*, vol. 4, pp. 102-109.

5 *E.g.*, by Virji, K. J., *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, Bombay, 1955, p. 95.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of these raid is given by al-Balādhurī[6]. Al-Junayd sent officers to Marmad, al-Mandal (perhaps Maṇḍali, modern Maṇḍal in Saurāṣṭra[7]), Dahanj (perhaps Dahaka, modern Dhaka[8]), and Barūṣ (Bhṛgukaccha or Bharukaccha, modern Broach). These places apparently all lay within the Maitraka territory,[9] and this raid was perhaps the one which included the attack on Valabhī which was repulsed with the aid of Jayabhaṭa IV, the Gurjara feudatory of the Maitraka Emperor Śīlāditya IV ; the raid on Bhṛgukaccha, Jayabhaṭa's capital, may have been in part motivated by a desire for revenge. Al-Balādhurī continues with references to the Arab army's proceeding to Uzayn (Ujjayinī, modern Ujjain), and Ḥabīb ibn Marra's expendition to al-Mālaya or al-Mālaba (Mālava, the area of which Ujjayinī was the capital ; modern Mālwā), and his raids on Uzayn and Baharīmad. This invasion (or these two invasions) of Mālava presumably originated from Bhṛgukaccha ; if this is so, it (or they) must be dated after 736, when Jayabhaṭa IV was still ruling in that city. Indeed, the Arab overthrow of the Gurjaras of Bhṛgukaccha is referred to next by al-Balādhurī when he reports that al-Junayd conquered al-Bīlamān (perhaps Bhillamāla, modern Bhinmal in Jodhpur, Rājasthān, the capital of the Cāvoṭakas) and al-Jurz (the Gurjaras).[10]

The Arabs were repulsed from Mālava and its capital, Ujjayinī, by the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler, Nāgabhaṭa I ; an inscription of his powerful successor, Bhoja (*ca* 836-882), records the fact that Nāgabhaṭa crushed the armies of the powerful Mleccha ("foreign"=Muslim) king.[11] The Cāhamāna ruler of Bhṛgukaccha and feudatory of Nāgāvaloka (= Nāgabhaṭa I), Bhartṛvaḍḍha II, made a grant dated 756,[12] by which time the Gurjara-Pratihāra had already driven the Arab from Broach.

An attempt by the Arabs in early 739 or one of the two preceding years to move south of Bhṛgukaccha through Lāṭadeśa into the Koṅkaṇa had been stopped by Pulakeśin, a Gurjara Cālukya subordinate to the Cālukya Emperor Vikramāditya II (*ca.* 734-747) ; his inscription,[13] dated 21 October 739, states

6 Al-Balādhurī, *Futuḥ al-buldān*, Cairo 1959, pp. 429-430.

7 Virji, p. 306.

8 Virji, p. 297.

9 Other identifications of some of these places are found in, for example, Virji, p. 95 (quoting R. C. Majumdar), and Puri, B. N., *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, Bombay 1957, p. 22, n. 2.

10 If al-Junayd performed the feats attributed to him by al-Balādhurī, he could not have been succeeded by Tamīm ibn Zayd al-'Utbī in 726 as reported by Mirashi (*CII*, vol. 4, p. lvi). If the date 726 is correct, then some later governor of Sind must have been responsible for the raids referred to in the Sanskrit inscriptions and in the *Futuḥ al-buldān*.

11 Majumdar, R. C., "The Gwalior *Praśasti* of the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Bhoja," *EI* 18, 1925-26, 99-114.

12 Vallabhaji, G., *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, 3 vols., Bombay 1938-1942, vol. 3, pp. 229-234.

13 *CII*, vol. 4, pp. 137-145.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

that he had defeated the army of the Tājikas at Navasārikā (modern Navsārī, some twelve miles south of Surat) after it had destroyed the Saindhava (feudatories of the Maitrakas in western Saurāṣṭra; the family originated in Sind), Kacchella (from Kaccha), Saurāṣṭra (the Maitrakas), Cāvoṭaka (ruling from Bhillamāla), Maurya (probably Dhavala or Dhavalātman, a Maurya king whose inscription, found at Kanaswa, Kotah, Rājasthān, is dated 738[14]), Gurjara (Jayabhaṭa IV, the Gurjara ruler of Bhṛgukaccha), and other kings. The Arab expedition evidently followed (presumably without knowledge), the more victorious route of conquest used by the Karddamaka Śakas in the period from 130 to 150[15].

Pulakeśin's victory in 739 and Nāgabhaṭa's ejection of the Arabs from Bhṛgukaccha did not end the Muslim raids on the remnants of the Maitraka Empire.[16] Two Jaina legends concerning the fall of Valabhī connect that event with the Mlecchas and the Yavanas respectively[17]; and a similar story involving a Mleccha army is given by Rājaśekhara in his *Prabandhakośa*[18]. Rājaśekhara gives the date of the sack of Valabhī as Vikrama Saṃvat 375 (= A.D. 318); H. G. Shastri has plausibly suggested that the error arose from Rājaśekhara's understanding Vikrama Saṃvat 845 (= A.D. 788), which must be close to the real date of the fall of the Maitrakas,[19] as Vīra Saṃvat 845 (= Vikrama Saṃvat 375).[20] The date Vikrama Saṃvat 845 is also given by Jinaprabha Sūri in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa*; he names the conqueror Hammīra (Amīr).[21] The first three Jaina stories include a man named Raṅka and gold-making; the same elements appear in the version related by al-Bīrūnī, who adds that the destroyer of Valabhī was the lord of al-Maṇsūra that is, the Arab governor of Sind.[22]

---

14 Sircar, D. C., "Fragmentary Maurya Inscription from Mathura," *EI* 32, 1957-58, 207-212, esp. 210.

15 Pingree, vol. 1, p. 14.

16 It is frequently claimed (*e.g.* by Virji, pp. 99-100) that al-Balādhurī (p. 431) refers to an invasion of Gujarāt in the following account. The Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775) appointed Hishām ibn 'Amr governor of Sind, and he sent 'Amr ibn Jamal in boats to Nārand. Nārand is read by these scholars Bārada (!), which they identify with Bardia near Porbandar in Saurāṣṭra. An inscription found at Ghumli mentions that the Saindhava ruler of that region of Saurāṣṭra, Agguka I, rescued his country from an enemy naval force. The identification of that enemy with the Arabs sent to Nārand-Bārada is far from certain.

17 *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Calcutta 1939, pp. 82-83.

18 *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara Sūri, ed. Jinavijaya, Śāntiniketan 1935, p. 23.

19 Virji, p. 102, points out that the Maitrakas were no longer ruling when Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṃśa* in 783.

20 Reported in M. R. Majmudar, ed. *Historical and Cultural Chronology of Gujarat*, Baroda 1960, p. 317.

21 *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri, ed. Jinavijaya, Śāntiniketan 1934, p. 29.

22 Al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥqīq mā li al-Hind*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1958, pp. 152-153; *Alberuni's India*, trans. E. C. Sachau, London 1910, vol. 1, pp. 192-193.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The next incident that involves Sanskrit references to Muslims on the western coast of India occurred at Sañjāṇa, a coastal town in the Ṭhāṇā District, some 90 miles north of Bombay. If this town is the ancient Sañjāyapura Ptolemy's Σαγα'νΤιον ?), it was the center of a Yavana settlement in the early fourth century A.D.[23] According to Pārsī tradition, refugees fleeing after the overthrow of Yazdijird III in *ca.* 652 wandered for 100 years in the mountainous district of Khurāsān, settled for fifteen years in the island of Hurmuz, then for nineteen years on the island of Diu near the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra, and then transferred to Sañjāṇa, where they were received by the local *rajā*, Jādī Rāna or Jāy Rāna. This tradition is preserved in a Persian poem, the *Qissa-i Sañjān*, composed by Bahman Kaykobād Hurmuzdyār Sanjānā in 969 Yazdijird (1599/1600 A.D.),[24] and is repeated in the *Qissa i Zartushtiyān-i Hindūstān va Bayān-i Ātash Bahrām-i Nawsārī* composed by Shapurji Manockji Sanjana at the end of the eighteenth century.[25] The chronology of this tradition would place the arrival of the Pārsīs at Sañjāṇa in *ca.* 785, through many other dates for that event have been proposed, of which the most convincing is 9.6.[26] The controversy concerning the date of the advent of the Pārsīs, however, does not affect the fact that Pārsīs at some time before *ca.* 950 had settled in western India. In a cave at Kanheri (just north of Bombay) were found two Pahlavī inscriptions[27]; the first, dated 368 Yazdajird (999/1000 A.D.), names seventeen Iranians, the second, dated 390 Yazdajird (1021/1022 A.D.), lists ten more, of whom four were listed in the first record. Moreover, it has often been claimed that the word haṃyamana or haṃjamana that occurs in several Śilāhāra grants dated between 988 and 1127 is derived from the Avestan hanjamana, meaning "assembly", and refers to the Pārsīs.[28] It has, however, been pointed out that

---

23 Pingree, vol. 1, p. 20, fn. 65; *cf.* p. 4.

24 Modi, J. J., "The Ancient Name of Sanjān," *Asiatic Papers*, Bombay 1905, pp. 201-216.

25 Modi, J. J., "Qisseh-i Zartūshtiān-i Hindūstān va Bayān-i Ātash Behrām-i Naosari," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 17, 1930, 1-63; 19, 1931, 45-57; and 25, 1933, 1-147.

26 Taraporewala, J. S., "The Exact Date of the Arrival of the Parsis in India," *Volume of Studies in Indology, Presented to Prof. P. V. Kane*, Poona 1941, pp. 506-514. Taraporewala, pp. 512-513, is mistaken in accepting the view that the inscription of the Śilāhāra Anantadeva I dated 1081 mentions the "Kharāsān Maṇḍalī" or territory of Khurāsānian Pārsīs; see *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 113-115.

27 Taraporewala, p. 512. The young Pārasika men and women who are said to have sung the praises of the Cola Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120) from the further side of the ocean lived not in Sañjāṇa, but in Iran. Hultzsch, E., "Four Inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola," *EI* 5, 1898-99, 103-106, esp. 103-104; Bhandarkar, D. R., "Parasikas," *M. P. Khareghat Memorial Volume*, vol. 1, Bombay 1953, pp. 196-203, esp. pp. 199-200.

28 Modi, "The Ancient Name," pp. 209-215. The inscriptions known to me to contain this word are the Paṭṭaṇakuḍi Plates of Avasara II (?) (18 October 988; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 178-183); the Thāṇā Plates of Arikesarin (6 November 1017; *CII*, vol. 6, p. 44-54); the Bhāṇḍup Plates of Chittarāja (30 October 1026; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 54-60); the Berlin Museum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

haṃyamana is a Kannaḍa word meaning " artisan ".[29]

Epigraphic evidence regarding the presence of Muslims in Sañjāṇa in the tenth century was discovered some twenty-five years ago. This occurs in a grant of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, Indra III (915-928), found at the seaport town, Chiñchaṇī, in the Ṭhāṇā District of Mahārāṣṭra.[30] It is well known that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are the Balharā (Vallabharājas) of the Arab geographers, who are described as being friendly with the Muslims. Authors such as al-Iṣṭakhrī even state that some of the coastal cities of the Balharā—he names Kanbāya (Cambay), Sūbāra (Sopārā), Sandān (Sañjāṇa), and Ṣaymūr (Sanskrit Cemūlya: Chaul in Kolābā District)—not ony include Muslims among their inhabitants and possess mosques, but that these Muslims are ruled by Muslims on behalf of the Balharā.[31] This statement is amplified by the Chiñchaṇī inscription, which records that Sugatipa (in Sanskrit this word—which is not a proper name—means " lord of the virtuous " ; perhaps it is a Sanskritization of the Turkish Sebuktigin or Subuktigin), whose other name was Madhumati (in Sanskrit this means " sweet-minded " ; it is apparently a Sanskritization of Muḥammad), the son of Sahiyārahāra (Shāhriyār), was a *nṛpati* (*rāja*) belonging to a Tajika family and the recipient of the entire territory of Saṃyāna (Sañjāṇa) from Kṛṣṇa II (878-915), and that he endorsed, with the permission of Indra III, the endowment of a temple of the goddess Bhagavatī Daśamī at Saṃyāna by the *Brāhmaṇa* Annaiya, a friend of the Arab king's minister, Puvvaiya, on 17 April 926. Incidentally, this, a Rāṣṭrakuṭa grant, seems to be the earliest Sanskrit inscription to refer to the haṃyamanas.

Though the Tājika Madhumati or Sugatipa was the governor of Sañjāṇa for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from about 900/910 till at least 926, the Arab local political dominance did not long survive. Even had they maintained their position under the remaining Rāṣṭrakūṭas the last of these, Karka II, was overthrown in 973 ; and a grant made by the Śilāhāra Aparājita on 20 August 993 asserts that he had taken over Saṃyāna and other territories when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire fell.[32]

Plates of Chittarāja (5 April 1034; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 64-71); the Chiñchaṇī Plate of Chittarāja (15 September 1034; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 71-75); the Thāṇā Plate of Nāgārjuna (27 August 1039; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 75-82); the Thāṇā Plates of Mummuṇirāja (20 February 1049; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 82-98); the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuṇirāja (15 August 1049; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 98-106); the Khārepāṭan Plates of Anantadeva I (9 January 1095; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 115-120); and the Vaḍavalī Grant of Aparāditya I (21 October 1127; *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 12-127). They are also mentioned in the Chiñchaṇī Grant of the Moḍha Vijala (13 November 1053; *EI*, 32 1957/58,71-78).

29 *CII*, vol. 6, p. 58, fn. 8.

30 Sircar, D. C., " Rashtrakuta Charters from Chinchani. " *EI* 32, 1957-58, 45-60, *esp.* 45-55.

31 Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, ed. M. S. Ghurbāl, Cairo 1961, p. 102. Much the same information is found in Ibn Hawqal's *Kitāb ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Bayrūt (*N.D.*), p. 277.

32 *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 17-28.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

However, Arab merchants continued to thrive at Sañjāṇa. For Cāmuṇḍarāja, the governor of Saṃyānapattana under the Śilāhāra Chittarāja, granted an oil-mill to the temple of Bhagavatī at Saṃyāna on 15 September 1034 ;[33] among the persons whom he addresses in this grant are the merchants Alliyā ('Alī), Mahara (Mihr), and Mahumata (Muḥammad). One may here remark that this same temple of Bhagavatī at Sañjāṇa that was mentioned by Sugatipa and by Cāmuṇḍarāja was referred to in a grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (939-967) along with a temple of Viṣṇu erected by descendants of the merchants of Bhillamāla[34] ; the *praśasti* of Kṛṣṇa III describes him as being obeyed by, among others, the Tajjikas and the Pārasīkas—presumably the Muslim and Pārsī merchant communities along the western coast of India.

The Pārasīkas are also regularly mentioned in the inscriptions of the Western Cālukyas in a verse extolling Vinayāditya (678/9 or 681-696), who is said to have been the overlord of the rulers of the islands Kamera or Kavera, Pārasīka, and Siṃhala. The earliest inscription that I know of to include this claim is a grant made by his son, Vijayāditya, on 8 April 700.[35] Siṃhaladvīpa seems certainly to be the island of Goa (Gopakadvīpa),[36] but the identity of the islands called Kamera and Pārasīka remains obscure. That it is located near Goa is indicated by the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) (*ca.* 725-750) given by Vākpati in his *Gauḍavaho*;[37] this extended up to the western coast of India from Gokarṇa, south of Goa (" the place where Rāvaṇa offered his ten heads to Śiva ") to a confrontation with the Pārasīkas, then through the two Koṅkaṇas to the Narmadā. Thus Pārasīkadvīpa seems to have been a small settlement of Persian merchants somewhere on the coast of Goa or the southern Ratnāgiri District.[38] The description of Vinayāditya's overlordship of the three islands is echoed in an inscription erected by the Kadamba Ṣaṣṭha II at Gaṇaḍevī (on the Ambikā, south of Navasāri in Gujarāt) in 1042; Ṣaṣṭha claims to have conquered the overlords of the islands Siṃhala, Pārasīka, and Kanaka.[39]

---

33 *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 71-75.

34 Sircar, 55-60.

35 Gai, G. S., " Mayalur Plates of Chalukya Vijayaditya, Saka 622 ", *EI*, 33, 1959-60, 311-314. For other grants issued in the same reign and making the same claim see, *e.g.*, *EI*, 10, 1909-10, 14-17 (703); *EI*, 32, 1957-58, 317-324 (20 June 707); and *EI*, 25, 1939-40, 21-24 (731).

36 *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 186-187.

37 *The Gaūḍavaho*, ed. S. P. Pandit, rev. N. B. Utgikar, Poona 1927, lines 430-470.

38 Bhandarkar, D. R., " Parasika Dominion in Ancient India ", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 8, 1926-27, 133-141, esp. 138-139, claims that this Pāfasīka island was Sañjāṇa, but this must be rejected because it conflicts with the chronology of the advent of the Pārsīs to India.

39 Gadre, A. S., *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Baroda 1943, pp. 64-71; on Śaṣṭha's campaigns see also G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay 1931, pp. 174-175.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In this connection, Kanakadvīpa (" the island of gold ") is probably Kāpardikadvīpa or Kavaḍidvīpa, the northern Koṅkaṇa (the Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā Districts) so named after the Śilāhāra Kapardin I (*ca.* 800-825), while it is possible that by this time Pārasīkadvīpa refers to Sañjāṇa.

Two other inscriptions of the Kadambas mention an Arab family of some importance in the middle of the eleventh century ; both were composed during the reign of Jayakeśin I, the son of Ṣaṣṭha II, and were found at Panjim in Goa. The first is known as yet only from a Portuguese translation (not seen by the present writer) and two English summaries thereof.[40] This records that Jayakeśin authorized his minister, Sadano (so the Portuguese ; evidently an attempt to render Chaḍama, which may represent the Arabic sādin, "custodian "), to collect taxes from ships coming from other ports in order to support a mijigiti (masjid, " mosque ") on 23 April 1053 ; the other ports named, in their Portuguese versions, are Sihalla (Siṃhala ; Ceylon), Callah, Zungavar (Zanzibār), Pandu (Pāṇḍya), Queralla (Kerala), Chandda (Caṇḍa), Ganddo (Gauḍa), Bangalla (Baṅgāla ; Bengal), Gheatta, Gurjara (Gujarāt), Laita (Lāṭa), Pusta, Srytam, and Chandrapur (Chandrapura, a former Kadamba capital ; Chandar in Goa). The same inscription states that Sadano's father, Madumod (Muḥammad), a Taji (Tājika) merchant, had assisted Guhalladeva II, Jayakeśin's grandfather, when the ship on which he was sailing to Somanātha in Saurāṣṭra was forced by a broken mast to put in at Goa.[41] The second inscription records the grant of a village by Jayakeśin to Chaḍama, the son of Madhumada (Muḥammad), the son of Āliyama ('Alī), a *nauvittaka* (" one who earns his living from ships ") belonging to a Tāyika (Tājika) family from Cemūlya (al-Iṣṭakhrī's Ṣaymūr), on 5 July 1059.[42] The word *nauvittaka* also occurs in other grants, including one in which it is the title (" admiral " ?) of an official named Vāsaida ; this grant refers to a raid on the Koṅkaṇa made by the Muna (?) Yavanas (Muslims), perhaps on behalf of the Kadambas of Goa.[43] It records the concession by the Śilāhāra Anantadeva I of exemption of customs dues at such ports of the northern Koṅkaṇa as Sthānaka (Ṭhāṇā), Nāgapura (perhaps Nāgāv in the Kolābā District), Śūrpāraka (Sopārā), and Cemūlya (Chaul in the Kolābā District) to two merchant brothers of Balipattana (perhaps Khārepāṭaṇa in the Ratnāgiri District ; though this place is inland, it does lie on a river), Bhābhaṇa and Dhaṇāma, on 9 January 1095. A later in-

---

40 Moraes, pp. 185-187, and Dikshit, M. G. " Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Śaka 981, " *Indica. The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Bombay 1953, pp. 89-98, esp. 92-93.

41 Moraes, pp. 171-172.

42 Moraes, pp. 394-400, and Dikshit.

43 *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 115-120. The Kadamba ruler was Guhalladeva III, the son of Jayakeśin I; see Moraes, p. 188.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

vasion of the Koṅkaṇa by one Chittuka, who is described as an *asura* (demon), was repulsed by the Śilāhāra Aparāditya I, from whom Chittuka fled to take refuge among the Mlecchas (Muslims) ; this victory is recorded in a grant made by Aparāditya on 21 October 1127.[44]

Thus, the Sanskrit evidence for considerable activity by Muslim and Pārsī traders and communities on the western coast of India between about 700 and 1100 is fairly considerable. But, when our attention turns to the south, to the Malabar coast in Kerala, the epigraphs mentioning western merchants and adventurers virtually cease. Certainly, such huge trading corporation as those following the Vīrabalañjadharma[45] had close connections with the foreign merchants from Egypt, Arabia, and Iran, but they do not seem to mention these partners in their numerous inscriptions. Therefore, we must be content with a handful of scattered records.

Since the fourth century, there has existed among Christians the legend that St. Thomas travelled to India, and since at least the thirteenth century his activities there have been associated with Mylapore near modern Madras. Regardless of the validity of these legends, there are certain epigraphic remains of Syrian Christians in south India. One inscription, in Pahlavī and naming the Syrians (though containing only a dozen or so words, it has been interpreted in as many ways), is found on six crosses in the region:[46] in the church on St. Thomas' Mount near Madras, discovered by the Portuguese in *ca.* 1547 ; two crosses in the Valiyapalli Church at Koṭṭayam, Travancore, Kerala ; in the Kadamarram Church near Kaṭṭayam ; in the Roman Catholic Church at Muttasira near Koṭṭayam ; and in the Syrian Catholic Church at Alangad, Travancore (this cross is said to have come from Cranganore, Kerala). One of the crosses at Koṭṭayam bears also a Syriac inscription of a passage from *Galatians*. The original date of the Pahlavī inscription is unknown, but most probably falls within our period. The other inscriptions are three copper plate grants in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Koṭṭayam in Kerala.[47] The earlier two, written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script, are dated in the reign of the Cera monarch, Sthāṇu Ravi, who is known to have been a contemporary of the Cola Āditya I (*ca.* 871-907). The first states that in the fifth year of Sthāṇu Ravi,

---

44 *CII*, vol. 6, pp. 120-127.

45 Sundaram, K., "The Balañja Merchant Community of Medieval Andhra (A.D. 1300-1600)", *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* 30, 1960-61 (1963), 13-27.

46 Anklesaria, B. T., "The Pahlavi Inscription on the Crosses in Southern India," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 39, 1958, 64-107.

47 Some bibliography and a description is given by V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* 3 vols., Madras 1919, vol. 3, pp. 1703-1704; see also L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux invasions musulmanes*, Paris 1935, pp. 249-250.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the governor of Veṇāḍu, Aiyanaḍigaḷ, granted certain privilleges to Īso Tapīr and converts to the church called Tariśāppalli at Kurukkeṇi kollam (Quilon, Kerala). The second, a fragment, repeats the first with some additional details, and is signed by witnesses in the Pahlavī, Kūfic, and Hebrew scripts. The third inscription, in the Malayālam and Vaṭṭeḷuttu scripts, is later ; it is thought to be dated 1320.

A single epigraph refers to the Jews in south India. This is a copper plate grant in Tamil, dated in the thirty-eighth year of the Cera Bhāskara Ravivarman (*ca.* 978-1036), granting a village at Muyirikkoḍu (Cranganore or Kranganūr north of Cochin ; generally identified with the Greeks' Muziris) to Issuppu Iṛappān (Joseph Rabbān) and his descendants.[48] This grant, of which there is also a Hebrew translation, is kept by the Jews of Cochin. Jews, of course have lived in Kerala continuously for many centuries. The "Black" Jews are descended from the earliest immigrants who intermarried with low-caste Dravidians, and the "White" Jews are mostly descended from those who have migrated to India in the last 500 years.[49] Various authors of the late medieval and early modern periods affirm the existence of colonies of Jews, Christians, and Muslims at a town named Mārāhi or Māḍāyi at the mouth of the Killā River near Elimalai (Mt. Delly on English maps), north of Cannanore in the Malabar District. Mārāhi was allegedly founded by the Mūṣaka (Eli) king Vaḷabha[50] It is said to contain a tank or reservoir called the Jews' Tank ; and there is reported to be an Arabic inscription in its mosque commemorating the mosque's foundation in A.H. 518 (A.D. 1124/25).[51]

The only other settlements of foreign merchants on the western coast of India before the end of the thirteenth century are in Gujarāt, including Saurāṣṭra ; many of these individuals, however, came overland from Sind, Afghānistān, Rājasthān, the Panjāb, or Mālwā (including, of course, Maḥmūd of Ghazna), rather than by ship.[52] There are a number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Arabic referring to these Muslim merchants that were written during the reigns of the Caulukyas and Vāghelas.[53] The most noteworthy of

---

48 Rangacharya, vol. 3, pp. 1691-1692.

49 Macfarlane, E. W. E., "The Racial Affinities of the Jews of Cochin", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, 3, 1937, 1-24.

50 Subrahmanya Aiyer, K. V. "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1922, 161-175.

51 Rangacharya, vol. 2, p. 1042.

52 See, *e.g.* Sharma, D. "Some New Light on the Route of Mahmūd Ghaznavī's Raid on Somanātha : Multān to Somanātha and Somanātha to Multān", *Dr. Satkari Mookerji Felicitation Volume*, Varanasi 1969, pp. 165-168, and D. Sharma, "The Naṇāṇā Grant of Alhaṇa, a Feudatory of Kumārapāla Caulukya, V. 1219 and 1220, "*Felicitation Volume.....S. K. Belvalkar*, Banaras 1957, pp. 297-303.

53 Majumdar, A. K., *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay 1956, pp. 331-333, and Desai,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

these are the Arabic inscription set up in Cambay to record the construction of a mosque by Sa'īd ibn Abū Sharaf ibn 'Alī ibn Shābūr al-Bammī in Muḥarram A.H. 615 (30 March—21 April 1218),[54] and the Veraval Sanskrit Inscription of Arjunadeva.[55] This latter record, dated Rasūla Muḥammada Saṃvat 662 as well as in traditional Indian style corresponding to 25 May 1264, refers to the rule of an Amīra Rukanadīna (Rukn al-Dīn) at Hurmuja (Hurmuz) and the construction of a mijigiti (masjid or mosque) at Somanātha by Noradīna Pīroja, the son of Khojā Abūvrāhima (Nūr al-Dīn Fīrūz ibn Khwāja Abū Ibrāhīm). The Arabic version of this inscription, dated 23 July 1264, has recently been identified.[56] Martial and commercial contacts between the Vāghelās and Muslims are often referred to in the Sanskrit literature produced in the court of the former ; especially noteworthy in this regard is the play *Hammīramadamardana* (*Destruction of the Joy of the Amīr*) composed by Jayasiṃha Sūri between 1223 and 1230[57].

In conclusion, I should mention that Sanskrit literature composed in western India between 700 and 1300 frequently refers to the goods imported from Arabia and Iran and to the social customs of the Muslims and Pārsīs. It would be impossible to survey this vast material, so I shall remain content to list a few of the many places wherein references to such material appear.[58] I

Z. A., "Muslims in the 13th Century Gujarat, as known from Arabic Inscriptions", *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda* 10, 1960-61, 353-364.

54 Siddiqi, W. H., "Religious Tolerance as Gleaned from Medieval Inscriptions", *Proceedings of Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions*, Aligarh 1974, pp. 50-58, esp. 51-53, and Desai, 355. Siddiqi states that this is the oldest Arabic inscription in Gujarat, thereby denying (apparently rightly) the authenticity of that claimed by Majumdar (p. 332) to be dated 24 Rabī 'I A.H. 445 (24 July 1052) and to be found in a mosque in Ahmedabad.

55 Vallabhaji, *Historical Inscriptions*, vol. 3, pp. 58-63; and Sircar, D. C. "Veraval Inscription of Chaulukya-Vaghela Arjuna, 1264 A.D.", *EI* 34, 1961-62, 141-150.

56 Desai, 360-361, and Sircar, 149-150. Other inscriptions mentioned by Desai include those on grave-stones from Cambay dated 1232, 1249, 1284, 1287, and 1291; one at Patan (Aṇahillapattana) dated 1282; and a record of the construction of a mosque at Junagadh in 1286/87.

57 Sandesara, B. J., *Literary Circle of Mahāmātya Vastupāla*, Bombay 1953, pp. 31-32, 36,38, 78-79, and 122-125. A later story, the *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvāṇanda, claims that the Jaina merchant, Jagaḍū, built a masīti (masjid) in Bhadreśvarapura in about 1250; see Bühler G. *Indian Studies No. I*, Wien 1892, pp. 18 and 62 (*Jagaḍūcarita* 6. 64).

58 Kane, P. V. "The Pahlavas and Pārasīkas in Ancient Sanskrit Literature", *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, pp. 352-357, esp. 356-357; Agrawala, V. S., "An Old Reference to Persian Oil in Sanskrit Literature", *Indian Culture* 13, 1946-47, 226; Desai, D. *The Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras under the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi*, Bombay 1951, pp. 293 and 399; Gode, P. K., "Some Distinctive Names of Horses Recorded by Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, by Someśvara in his Mānasollāsa and by Jayadatta in his Aśvavaidyaka—between A.D. 1000 and 1200". *Studies in Indian Literary History*, vol. 3, Poona 1956, pp. 172-181 and Chauhan, D., "Arab Horses in India", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 48-49, 1968, 391-394.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

should also note that Indian astronomers and mathematicians of the period were not entirely unfamiliar with the work of Arabic scientists.[59] In brief, the assembled evidence is not particularly copious, but it is sufficient to establish the general proposition that Western merchants in the early Islamic period continued to play the important role in the economic and social life of West India that they had in the time of the Roman Empire.

Abbreviations

CII : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

Vol. 4 : V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, Ootacamund 1955.

Vol. 6 : V. V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Śilāhāras*, New Delhi 1971.

EI : *Epigraphia Indica.*

59 Pingree, D., "Islamic Astronomy in Sanskrit", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 2, 1978, 315-330, esp. 316-318.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

"ANCIENT NAME OF KUTCH"

By

H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

So far the earliest reference to Kutch in literature seemed to be in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[1] Here occur in 4.2.133 words like *Kaccha*, *Kāccha* and *Kācchikā*. These are said to mean, "bank of a river." They might also signify marshy land, or land reclaimed from the sea. Any way, it was in this sense, that we may explain the names of Kutch in "Bharu-kaccha" and "Maru-kaccha." These names occur in the inscriptions of Gujarat. Thus Maru-kaccha along with Sindhu, Sauvīra, Niṣāda, and other countries were conquered by Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāmā I.[2]

Later in the copperplates of Saṅgamasiṁha of Broach and the Gurjaras occur the names "Bharū-kaccha", and "Bhṛigu-kaccha".[3]

Recently, however, in an inscription from Wandh, in Kutch published by Shri P. R. Srinivasan occurs the word "Kaṣadesikae."[4] That is, in the "Country of Kaśa." Not only Srinivaran has not given any further thought to this identification, but it was found while checking with the original estampage (see the enlarged copy of the line here published) that the two *Sas* are differently engraved. If the first in *Kaśa* is read as *Śa*, then the second in *desi* should be read as *sa* and not as *śi*.

Further confirmation is found by comparing these letters with similarly engraved letters in this very inscription as well as the Andhau and Mevasa Ins. published in this volume.

Assuming as Shri Srinivasan did that "*kaśa*", even in the corrected reading, *Kaśadesikae*, stands for or means "The country of "Kacchha" it appeared to me that this was the earliest occurrence of the word "Kasa", meaning "Kutch".

This impression was strengthened when Dr. N. M. Sen, assistant Editor in the Sanskrit Dictionary Department, Deccan College and Poona University, kindly looked up all the available references to *Kaśa*. Both of us were surprised to find that this was the earliest occurrence of the word *Kaśa* in Sanskrit. From it might have been derived "*Kaśyapa*" as in the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*.

---

1 Katre, S. M., *Dictionary of Pāṇini*, Part I, p. 171.

2 *EP. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 36-49.

3 Sankalia, H. D., *Studies in Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, Poona, 1949, p. 49.

4 *EP. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, July 1967 (1968), pp. 142-44.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

From this *Kaśyapa*, we get *Kacchapa* and *Kachha* or the words 'Kaccha' in Maru-kacchha and Bharu-kacchha.

Thus this six line record from Wandh belonging to Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Svāmī Rudrasiṁha of the year 102 is of great importance for the history of Sanskrit language, as well as for the historical geography of India.

After I wrote this, appeared the issue of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part VI April 1970 (1979). And to my great surprise I found that I had already written a short note on *Kaśa* ; p. 269. Therein I had said that *Kaśa* does not seem to stand for the name of Kutch because it was not linguistically possible, nor was there such linguistic usage in Gujarat proper, Saurashtra or Kutch, nor can the usage be traced in literature or inscription.

Further the suffix *deśa* (which is not really there) does not occur very early. Its earliest occurrence, again, is post-Vedic in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, etc. meaning a country or kingdom. Still the two early records, one an edict of Aśoka, and the other of Rudradāmā where several countries are mentioned but in none the suffix *deśa* has been used. Hence both from the point of usage, linguistic as well as literary, we have to accept the significance of *Kaśa* as an ancient name of Kutch with some reservation.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SINDHI SURNAMES ENDING IN -ĀṆĪ*

By

YASHODHARA WADHWANI, Poona

A vast majority of Sindhi surnames are conspicuous by the preponderence of -nī, rather -ani (pronounced correctly as -āṇī) at their end.[1] This paper attempts to study all such surnames and to arrive at some clue to their formational patterns as well as their original signification.

The study is based on data obtained from the general admission register of the Sindhi Medium Division of St. Mira's School, an educational institute of Sindhis in Poona. Out of 1741 entries taken down serially, many showed only the student-name and his/her father's name. Hence only some 230 surnames could be obtained, of which about 200 ended in -āṇī.

The methodology followed was that of surveying, hypothesising, checking with the data or with native speakers, and further refinement of the initial hypothesis.

Thus, for instance, an initial survey of the data suggested that most surnames terminating in -āṇī had, as their base, a male personal name probably of an illustrious ancestor of the family concerned. Wadhwani came from Wādhūrām,[2] Mansukhani from Mansukhrām, Moorjani from Moorajmal, etc. But there were quite a few surnames in case of which I could not at once think of a familiar personal name as a base. I, therefore tried to look into the names of the students' fathers in the register and found the search rewarding at times. E.g., I found a name Gehīmal (808)[3] which could be the base for the surname

---

* Paper presented at the 29th All India Oriental Conference (Indian Linguistics Section) held at Poona on 1st, 2nd and 3rd June, 1978.

* I have not followed IPA transcriptions strictly, for convenience of printing.

1 Some exceptions to this general rule are those ending in.

-ī (Mīrpurī, Shahdadpurī, Punjābī—place-name +ī; or Mukhī, Khatrī- etc.—referring to traditional occupation).

-jā (: Jasūjā, Āhujā, Rahejā—perhaps place-name +jā (= of, belonging to))

-ā (: Aroṛā,, Lullā, Lālā.....)

any consonant (: Sachdev, Nāgdev—based on totems, or Bajāj, Rājpāl etc.—referring to occupation).

Sindhi Brahmins have surnames like Jetley, Sharmā etc. from Skt. Jaitri, Sharman, and the like.

2 Most Sindhi male names are pronounced with a short final ŭ in the nominative singular, which changes to *a* in the vocative and oblique cases. Upon addition of -āni or in rapid speech, this base-final ŭ is dropped.

3 In case of an uncommon name or surname, I have added in brackets the serial number (in the Mira School Register) at which it is recorded.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Gehāṇī (1212), Dodārām (1147) for Dodāṇī (1497), Chhugāsingh[4] (1167-8) for Chhug'āṇī, etc. Asking other Sindhi natives also helped me in a few cases.

Coming to the findings of the study, while most surnames conformed to the pattern of ancestral personal name + -āṇī, a few had -āṇī added to the *nukha* of the family[5] e.g. Mākhījā + āṇī and Karnā (391) + āṇī, or to the name of its native place as in Sakhar + āṇī = Sakhrāṇī (1019), Hingor (jā)[6] + āṇī = Hingorāṇī, Sevh (-aṇ) + āṇī = Sevhāṇī. Perhaps here too, at first personal names based on place-names might have been in vogue and later those personal names were used to form surnames ; but this could not be verified due to limited data.

Let us now take up the actual formational patterns of -āṇī surnames and view the morphophonemic changes entailed by the affixation of -āṇī.

For formulating these, I scanned through the Admission Register once more and prepared separate lists of surnames in view of the consonant preceding -āṇī. Comparison and contrast of these lists revealed a few interesting points. The apparent common element in surnames like Āḍ' vāṇī and Āḍ' tāṇī does not justify us in setting up a common base for both. While Āḍ' tāṇī cames from Āḍ' at (rām) + āṇī, Aḍvāṇī is derived from Āḍ'ū (mal) + āṇī.[7] Similarly, while Malāṇī could come from (Manghir)-mal + āṇī, Chandnāṇī is not from (Mūl)-chand + āṇī because that would leave an intervening -n- unexplained ; rather Chandnāṇī comes from Chandan + āṇī, Haryāṇī from Harī (-ram) + āṇī, etc. A detailed and careful classification of all these points leads to the formulation of the following patterns of surname-formation with -āṇī.

Pattern I. Personal name including appendage (-nand, -rām, -singh, etc,.)[8] + -āṇī. This involves no morphophonemic change in the base name or the appendage. Thus, Hīrā-nand-āṇī; Shevā-rām-āṇī, Hem-rāj-āṇī, Rijh-singh-āṇī, etc.

Pattern II. Personal name minus appendage + āṇī. Thus, from the same above names, we get new surnames like Hīrāṇī (1194), Shevāṇī and Hemāṇī[9]

---

4 The graphemes g', j', ḍ', b' represent implosive stops which are phonemic in Sindhi.

5 Nukhă of Sindhis, nearly corresponding to devaka of Maharashtrian non-brahmins, is somewhat like a totem. Normally nukha-names themselves are taken up as surnames; cf. note 1.

6 Those elements of a name which are set aside upon affixation of -aṇī, have been placed within brackets.

7 However, Āḍūmal could have been a development from the abbreviation of Āḍ'atrām into Āḍ'ū following pattern IIB2a infra.

8 These elements do sometimes form an integral part of a name, as in Mādhavdās, (slave of Kṛṣṇa), Jag'atrāi (=Ruler of the world), Parsrām (= the legendary Paraśurāma). But in most cases they are redundant, e.g. in Nānik*rām*, Salāmat*rāi*, Gurbakshs*ingh*, etc.

9 From Rijhsingh, however, we get Rijhvāṇī, for which see IIB2a infra.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

However, the two above options are not open to all names : There are some whose appendage is persistently retained in derivation of surnames (Rāisinghāṇī, Khūbchandāṇī, Gulrājāṇī (114), etc.) and others which persistently drop their appendages in the process (: Sanmukhāṇī from Sanmukhrām, Thadhāṇī, from Thadhāram, Khushālāṇī from Khushāldās.) In the latter case, we find one of the following possibilities upon addition of -āṇī.

Pattern IIA. If the base-name ends in a consonant (-C), there are two conditioned results : when āṇī is added to such names.

IIA 1. If the C—final name has a penultimate short vowel (a/i/u), that vowel is elided (upon addition of -āṇī.)

i.e. CVCV̆C + āṇī—→CVCC + āṇī

Thus Vasaṇ[10] + āṇī—→Vasn-āṇī, Kishin (dās) + āṇī—→Kishn-āṇī, Hukum (-chand) + āṇī—→Hukm -āṇī etc.

An exception is allowed here if

(a) the elision of the penultimate vowel amounts to a clustered articulation of three or more consecutive consonants i.e. CVCCV̆C + āṇī undergoes zero elision or change. Example : M*ansukh*-āṇī, Gu*rbaksh*-āṇī,....

(b) or if the base-name is monosyllabic ;

i.e. CV̆C + āṇī remains CVC-āṇī

as in Dhan (-rāi)-āṇī, Sant (-dās)-āṇī, etc.

II.A. 2. In case the penultimate vowel is long, no elision takes place, whether the name-base be monosyllabic or dissyllabic. Thus : CV̄C + āṇī remains CV̄C-āṇī e.g. Khem- (-chand)-āṇī ; and CVCV̄C + āṇī also remains CVCV̄C -āṇī e.g. Gulāb-āṇī, Tilok (chand)-āṇī, etc.

II.B. With a base-name ending in a vowel, there are the following possibilities :

II.B. 1. If that final vowel is ā it is elided before -āṇī i.e.

CV (C)ā + āṇī = CV (C)-āṇī

Thus Khīā (-singh)[11] + āṇī = Khīāṇī,

Tolā (-rām) + āṇī = Tolāṇī ; similarly Hīrāṇī, Shevāṇī, etc.

II.B. 2. Some base-names (without appendages) end in ū, o or ao. Upon addition of -āṇī, these labial vowels are transformed into labio-dental

---

10 Retroflex nasal consonant *ṇ* at end of a base-name changes to *n* (dental) upon addition of -āṇī, perhaps as a result of dissimilation with the *ṇ* in the following syllable. (Another example in point : Khilaṇ + āṇī = Khilnāṇī.).

11 The name Khīāsingh occurs twice in my data : at numbers 813 and 1052.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

fricative consonent (v)[12], a pattern almost similar to morphophonemic changes in Sanskrit.[13]

i.e. CVCū + āṇī CVCv-āṇī e.g. Gidū (-mal) + āṇī = Gidvāṇī
Motū (-mal)-āṇī = Moṭvāṇī
CVCo + āṇī CVCv -āṇī e.g. Mano (-har-lāl) + āṇī = Manvāṇī
CVCao + āṇī CVCv -āṇī e.g. Kesao (-dās) + āṇī = Kesvāṇī

II.B. 2a. Sometimes, even base-names ending in consonants become vowel-final by addition of ū/o to mark intimacy or endearment. Upon affixation of -āṇī, these undergo the same changes as in II.B. 2. above. Thus :

CVC - ū/o + āṇī = CVC-v-āṇī
e.g. Ṭek (-chand)-ū + āṇī = Ṭehvāṇī (1554)
Rījh (-singh)-ū + āṇī = Rījhvāṇī
Bhoj' (-rāj)-o + āṇī = Bhoj'vāṇī[14]
B'al (-dev) -o/ū + āṇī = B'alvāṇī

Exceptions of IIB2 : B'ālo (-mal) + āṇī = B'ālāṇī (530,664) and Bhambho (-mal) + āṇī = Bhambhāṇī following IIB1 instead of the expected IIB2a.

Conversely, Jotā (-rām) + āṇī = Jot - ō + āṇī = Jotvāṇī.

II.B.3. Parallel to IIB2, we have pattern wherein names (without appendages) end in -ī, and this changes to -y- upon affixation of -āṇī. We thus have three subtypes :

(a) CVC (C) ī + āṇī = CVC (C)y - āṇī
Tulsī (dās) + āṇī = Tulsyāṇī (1692)
Harī (-rām) + āṇī = Haryāṇī (1599)

(b) CVC (VC) -yo showing endearment + āṇī = CVC (VC) - y - āṇī
Thus Ṭahil (rām)-yo + āṇī = Ṭahilyāṇī

(c) Daryānomal is abbreviated into Daryō (-mal) + āṇī = Daryāṇī

Exceptions to these are also found. For instance, Nandīrām does not follow Pattern IIB3a but becomes Nandū and then forms Nandvāṇī following IIB2a. Two more difficult cases are Jag'tyāṇī (672) and Bhag'tyāṇī (1241). They are evidently derived from Jag'at (-rāi) and Bhag'at (-rāi), but these two are not known to have endearment forms Jag'tyo and Bhag'tyo. Under the circumstances, the surnames ought to have been Jag 'tāṇī & Bhag 'tāṇī by IIA1.

---

12 When writing in Roman English, however, Sindhis prefer to use *w* in place of *v*.

13 cf. P.vi.1.127 (*iko yaṇ aci*) and vi.1.78 (*eco'yavāyāvaḥ*). However, the *av* which substitutes *o* following P.vi.1.78, loses its *a* following pattern IIA1 of Sindhi surname-formation.

14 The same could also be obtained from Rijhūmal, Bhoj'omal, etc. by pattern II B2. As suggested under note 7, it appears that abbreviations of names were sometimes extended to form new names by adding a different appendage.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The additional -y- element could perhaps be explained as a remnant of a fuller orm Jag'(a)t(rā)yāṇī abbreviated later to Jag'tyāṇī; so also Bhag'tyāṇī.

This phenomenon of abbreviating fuller surnames is not something hard to believe, since similar examples are found in pattern I also. Thus we have B'alrā(mā)ṇī (1226, 1360), Tolārā(mā-) ṇī (700), etc. Such tendencies develop especially when surnames tend to become too long. Sometimes even the whole of the ancestral name is dropped in this abbreviating process. Thus Sipāhīmalāṇī (606), Manghanmalāṇī, etc. are at times found contracted into a mere Malāṇī (303); Gulrājāṇī (114), Jasrājāṇī etc. become Rājāṇī (1012), and so on. Some others retain the ancestral name and drop the rest, e.g. Madnāṇī is sometimes reduced to mere Madan.

Another abbreviating trend that is becoming more and more common among Sindhis these days is of eliding just the final syllable (-ṇī) of the surname. Thus Hīrāṇī becomes Hīrā, Wādhwāṇī,→ Wādhwā, Sidhvāṇī→ Sidhvā, etc. A more peculiar case of contraction is that of Sipāhīmalāṇī into Sippi.

The above was an extensive survey of formational patterns etc. of Sindhi surnames ending in -āṇī. Now, we turn to the investigation of the original signification of the suffix -āṇī as used here.

At the end of one of his articles,[15] Prof. H. C. Bhayani, a veteran present-day linguist has referred to certain Gujarati (-or Kacchi, to be precise-) surnames such as Mādhvāṇī, Popṭāṇī, Keshvāṇī as being based on ancestral personal names. He suggests that these as well as Sindhi surnames ending in -āṇī may be traced to a suffix *āṇa(y)*-a (fem. *-āṇī*) which, according to his detailed study of Prakrit texts, was attached to proper and common nouns to convey the possessive sense of 'belonging or pertaining to' in Late Middle Indo-Aryan. [He presumes this has developed from the genitive plural ending in Sanskrit -(*ā*)*-nām* or the feminine formative *-āṇī* in Indrāṇī, Varuṇānī, etc.] *-āṇa* + *ika* (empty morph) would give rise to āṇika → *-āṇiya and finally āṇī through compensatory lengthening.

This is a suggestion worth considering; for, Sindhi does have a corresponding suffix *-āṇo* (fem. *-āṇī*) for forming derivative adjectives from nouns, e.g. *amīrāṇo* (= of or like a wealthy man), *b'ār-āṇo* (= childish), etc. But this is never found affixed to a proper noun, and even if we presume that it was so affixed in older Sindhi, one cannot understand why only the feminine form (āṇī) of that affix should have been used in forming surnames.

Trying to find some clue to the problem with the help of the earliest known anthentic *Grammar of the Sindhi Language* (London & Leipzig: 1872 A.D.) by

15 "The Late Middle Indo-Aryan suffix *-āṇa*". *Brahmavidyā* (Adyar Library Bullettin). Madras, 1961. XXV, 1-4, pp. 313-320. (I have also come across similar surnames among *Kaḍvā Pāṭī-dārs* in Gujarat).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dr. Ernest Trumpp, I chanced to find, to my pleasant surprise, a small section devoted to "Themes in *āṇī*" (*op.cit.*, p. 74) wherein āṇī is said to form 'patronymics or nouns denoting descent' and is traced back to a Sanskrit affix *-âyani* with lengthening of its short final *i* 'as in other similar nouns'.

In view of the fact that Sindhi (as also Kacchi) surnames ending in -āṇī do have ancestral personal names as bases, the possibility of involvement of a patronymic affix here seems more acceptable than that of a possessive affix (-āṇa). But, Trumpp's statement leads us only half-way to the solution; we must go over to Sanskrit Grammar and see in what environment and what specific sense *-āyani* is applicable. On doing so, I found the following possible alternatives:

(1) *āyani* may be a combined product of two affixes - *āyana* (=*phak* in Pāṇinian terminology applied by P. iv.1.99[16] to names under the word-group (=*gaṇa*) headed by *naḍa*) plus-*i* (=*iñ* by P. iv.1.95[17]). Since the first of these applies in the sense of *gotrāpatya* (=grandson and further descendants) and the second of direct descendant, the combined result would amount to this that *nāḍāyani* (=son of *nāḍāyana*) would refer to a 'fourth generation onwards descendant of *naḍa*'. This situation is in no way similar to that of Sindhi surnames because (a) none of the Sindhi base-names have forms like *nāḍāyana* or *naḍa* and none of them seem to derive from names in the *naḍa* word-group; (b) derivation of *nāḍāyani* from *naḍa* requires *vṛddhi*—transformation (into ā/ai/au) of the vowel in the initial syllable of the base-name; addition of -āṇī to Sindhi names causes no such *vṛddhi*; (c) discussions with elderly Sindhi people reveal that even among Sindhi brahmins, whose surnames normally are not *āṇī*-final, the traditional practice of letter-writing involved the mention of one's own name followed by *father's name* + *āṇī* (if the father was no more alive); this indicates that Sindhi-āṇī might have basically implied direct descendance, unlike the Sanskrit *-āyana* + *i*.

(2) Skt. *āyani* might be a realization of the suffix *phiñ* enjoined by P. iv. 1.154[18] after members of the word-group headed by *tika* (a personal name) in the sense of a direct descendant.[19]

While the meaning of this suffix agrees with that of Sindhi *-āṇī*, this too, like *āyana* + *i*, requires *vṛddhi* of the initial syllable-vowel of the base-name

---

16 The rule reads: *naḍādibhyaḥ phak* (*gotre*).

17 Wording of the rule is: *ata iñ* (*apatye'rthe*).

18 Wording of the rule is: *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*.

19 Although commentaries on this rule are silent about the sense of *phiñ*, *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (= *SK*) on the very next rule says: *apatye phiñ*. However, *apatya* may apply, not only to a direct descendant, but, also to other descendants. In contrast to this, *gotrāpatya* means *third generation descendant and onwards*. For a proof, vide note 21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

if it is a short one. But such *vṛddhi* is nowhere discernible in the formation of Sindhi surnames with -āṇī. Some of the base-names already have a long vowel in their initial syllable (e.g. Wādhūrām, Mūl-chand) ; others have a short one in that position, but retain the same even after affixation of -āṇī (e.g. K*a*rnāṇī, *Si*dhwāṇī....).

Of these two types of base-names, the former type can still qualify for taking the suffix *phiñ* on the authority of P. iv.1.157[20] which says that according to the practice of Northerners, *phiñ* is affixed [for direct descendance] (also) after a base-name which has a *vṛddhi* (=vowel ā/ai/au) in the initial syllable not resulting from application of a *gotra*-suffix. Exactly the same way, Sindhi base-names Āḍ'ū etc., constituted of no *gotra*-suffix and yet having a long ā in the initial syllable, take -āṇī to form the surnames Āḍ'v-āṇī etc. It is not unlikely therefore, that by 'Northerners', Pāṇini meant not those to the North of his native place but those in the Northern parts of India as a whole, esp. in Sindh. [Since in olden days, Sindh included Kutch region and had close cultural ties with the same, the extension of the same practice of patronymics in Kutch is not inexplicable. A very good evidence in this regard is the Kacchi surname J'āmāṇī which refers back to J'ām—the name of a dynasty that ruled over greater Sindh in the 14th cent. A.D. ; cf. Dr. H. I. Sadarangani's *Persian Poets of Sindh*, Karachi, *1956*, p. 34].

(3) In case of Sindhi base-names which have a non-*Vṛddhi* vowel in the initial syllable and keep it unchanged even after affixation of -āṇī, no direct authentication can be found in the patronymic practices recorded by Pāṇini. Could it be that for such base-names, Sindhis adopted the practice of Easterners[21] viz., that of adding another affix *-phin*, which had the same substitute *-āyani* but caused no *Vṛddhi* of the non-*Vṛddhi* initial syllable-vowel ?.....

Or perhaps, having inherited the practice of affixing *phiñ* to *Vṛddha* bases (cf. P.iv. 1.157) and having changed its substitute *āyani* to (*-āaṇi→) -āṇī, the Sindhis later failed to realize that the absence of vowel-change in the initial syllables of these names was restricted to *Vṛddha* bases only ; hence, they might have extended the same pattern of patronym-formation to *avṛddha* forms also like Madan (+ āṇī = Madnāṇī), Gokul (+ āṇī = Goklāṇī), etc.

---

20 *udīcām vṛddhād agotrāt*. See also *Tattvabodhinī* on this rule : *āmraguptāyanir iti. āmraguptasyāpatyam iti vigrahaḥ*. (For a definition of *vṛddha*, vide P.i.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*).

21 According to P.iv.1.160 : *prācām avṛddhāt phin bahulam* (*apatye*). That this *apatya* is a wider term inclusive of *gotrāpatya* is evident from the fact that the very example given under this rule by *SK* is found also in *SK* 1083 (on P.iv.1.90) which says : *glucukasya gotrāpatyaṁ glucukāyaniḥ vakṣyamāṇaḥ phin*. A *gotrāpatya* is essential here because, in its absence a *yuvan* affix could not become applicable.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

On the basis of the foregoing deliberations, it could be said that -āṇī, the Sindhi suffix now used for forming surnames, has derived from the Sanskrit patronymic suffix *phiñ* (=*āyani*) meaning 'direct descendant of' and applied by Northerners as per conditions mentioned in P. iv.1.157.

From the practice of affixing *āṇī* to the father's name in letter-writing, it is evident that the original sense of this patronymic affix had been retained for a long time. Later, perhaps due to exigencies of the formal system of education and governmental service introduced by the Britishers, it was deemed necessary that all descendants of a single patrilineal family adopt a single family-name or surname. So each family chose the name of some illustrations or better-known ancestor and adopted the patronymic derivative thereof as a surname.

An intriguing point, however, is the presence of surnames ending in āṇī even among Muslims and Iranians. Someone may ask : "How could they have inherited and kept up the Pāṇinian tradition of patronym-formation" ? A fully satisfactory explanation can only be given after a detailed investigation of their surnames, family histories, etc. At present, we can only draw the attention of scholars to a few important points in this connection : (1) Some Muslim surnames are explicable as patronyms : Noor (Mohammed) +āṇī = Noorāṇī, Mīr (Kāsim) +āṇī = Mīrāṇī, etc.[22]. (2) The practice of affixing *-āyani* to certain patronyms is not something invented or prescribed by Pāṇini, the Sanskritist. It is merely a practice prevalent among the 'Northerners'. In fact, the whole of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* comprises norms of accepted practices of the use of the language of *Aryans*, recorded by Pāṇini. (3) Even though mention of this practice in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* had baptized it into a '*saṁskṛta*' practice, Muslims in Sindh (—of whom a majority were converts, as in the rest of India—) might have retained this practice, of the land (—even after conversion—), not realizing that it had anything to do with Sanskrit, the language sacred to those whom they regarded as 'Kāfirs'. The reason why the practice was retained but its signification forgotten even by Hindus of a later date could be the political predominance and antagonistic attitude of Muslims which had made the study of Sanskrit almost impossible in Sindh.†

---

22 It should be noted, however, that surnames such as Usmani and Khurasani, though spelt similarly, have different derivations :

Usmani is from Usmān (personal name) + ī (indicating descendance) while Khurasani is from Khurāsān (place name) + ī (indicating nativity).

† I wish to express deep gratitude towards Pt. K. A. S. Shastri, Pt. K. T. Jetly, Dr. H. C. Bhayani, Dr. G. B. Palsule, Dr. N. M. Sen, Dr. P. J. Gidwani and many others who have helped me in various ways : by providing information or clearing my doubts, or by making useful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

NOTE ON THE BHAMODRA MOHOTA INSCRIPTION OF DROṆASIṀHA : YEAR 183

By

P. R. SRINIVASAN, Mysore

The above-mentioned inscription engraved on a copper-plate was edited first in *B.B.R.A.S.*, Volume XX, No. LIV, pp. 1 ff., and later in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, pp. 17-19, with an illustration. It has been listed as No. 1289 by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of North India.*

This inscription engraved in a beautiful manner and preserved well has some interesting things to say. Firstly the king addresses his order to all his *santakas* (officers) like *āyuktaka, viniyuktaka, mahattara, drāṅgika, dhruva-sthānādhikaraṇa, cāṭa* and *bhaṭa*[1]. These officers are stated to belong to the king's own *viṣaya.* Here *viṣaya* may mean the whole region over which the king held his sway and not a mere district. Or it may be that the kingdom of the ruler was in extent not more than a *viṣaya* of an empire.

Then follows the passage "*yathā mahā-vijay-āyu*[*r**]*-ddharmma-phala-yaśo-viṣaya-vri* (*vṛ*)*ddhaye no varṣasahasrāya sarvva-kalyāṇ-ābhiprāya saṁpattaye ca.*" This passage means that the donation recorded in this charter was for the increase in great victories, in longevity, in religious merit, in fame and in territory (*viṣaye*). Further the gift was meant for obtaining welfare of all kinds in the course of a life of a thousand years. This expression is an interesting one, and it conveys the intention of the ruler that his gift should rebound to the credit of him and his family for an indefinite period of time.

The gift was of the village of Trisaṁgamaka-grāma to the goddess Śrī-Bhagavatī Pāṇḍurājyā[2] of the Hastavaprāharaṇī. That the goddess was installed in a shrine is evident from the statement that the produce of the gift-village was also to be used for repairing the fallen or broken parts of the shrine (*devakulasya ca patita-viśūrṇṇa-pratisaṁskaraṇ-ārthaṁ*). But whether the goddess ' idol was made and installed in the shrine is not known from the record although it can be inferred to be so. She is evidently an aspect of the goddess Pārvatī or Durgā. But the iconography of this form is not known. A careful search made in the area may cause the discovery of the idol of this deity. The gift-village is also stated to be for the offerings to the deity of *gandha,* (sandal paste), *puṣpa* (flower), *dīpa* (lamp), *taila* (oil), and *mālya* (garlands) ; for the purpose of

---

1 See D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* for the meanings of these terms under each entry.

2 Name suggested in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, p. 18, is Pāṇḍurājā.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

feeding people (*sattr-opayojya*) ; and for the services of *bali*, *caru* and *vaiśvadeva*. The last list of services is usually mentioned in connection with the gifts made to *Brāhmaṇas*. Here, too, we may have to infer that the gift-village was entrusted to a *Brāhmaṇa* who was expected to do these services. That this was so seems to be indicated by the statement that the grant was of the variety of a *Brahmadeya* (i.e., the gift to *Brāhmaṇas*) and not of the variety of a *Devadāna* (i.e. the gift to a deity). This *Brahmadeya* was evidently entrusted to a *Brāhmaṇa* who was in charge of the worship of the goddess in the shrine.

The gift was accompanied with the right to collect cash levies and others, and with the privilege that the *cāṭas* and *bhaṭas* should not enter the village.

The person to whom the gift-village was entrusted is not explicitly mentioned. But he was in all probability *Bhīruvāka*[3], who is described as *devī-karmmāntikaḥ* translated as " intendant of the estate of the goddess ", in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, p. 18 ; but in reality meaning a person doing the service to the *Devī*, (i.e., the goddess) or priest.

The writer of the record has been read as *Kum*[*ā**]*rilapatika* in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, p. 19, text-line 11, and the note 8 under the same page gives some more explanation. But really the name is Kumārila, the son of Ṣaṣṭidatta. This Kumārila is stated to be a *kṣatika* which probably means ' an engraver. ' The name Ṣaṣṭidatta and Kumārila are noteworthy.

---

3 Read as Bhiruvāka in *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVI, p. 19, text-line 11.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

KUMBHEŚVARA TEMPLE AT KUMBHĀRIĀ

By

HARIHAR SINGH, Varanasi U.P.

Kumbharia, a holy Jaina place, is situated about one and a half kilometres from Ambaji in the Banaskantha district of Gujarat. It is the ancient Ārāsaṇa famous for the quality of white marble, the mines of which are found in abundance there. It lies embosomed among the forest-covered hills of Ārāsura (Ārāsaṇa), which forms the south-western termination of the Aravalli range. Its antiquity as a Hindu site may be traced to the remote period, as here was offered in vicarious sacrifice the hair of the infant Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and subsequently his bride Rukmiṇī worshipped Ambādevī, when he bore her from the threatened embrace of Śiśupāla.[1] The historical testimony, however, only carries us as far back as the 11th century A.D. when the region came under the sway of the powerful Solaṅkīs of Gujarat. During the Solaṅkī period it became an important centre for building activity, as it witnessed the erection of a group of five Jaina temples and the present Śaiva temple.

This temple (Fig. 1; see cover page three) stands on a natural terrace which is landed up by thirteen steps arranged in three flights. At present an arrangment of steps for approaching the terrace is also made from the south. The temple is a small *nirandhāraprāsāda* consisting of a sanctum and a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. It is built of white marble and faces the east.

Sanctum—It is *caturaṅga* (*saptaratha*) on plan consisting of *bhadra*, *nandikā*, *pratiratha* and *karṇa*, the first being the largest and the second the smallest (Fig. 2; see cover page four). The *bhadra* has very little projection and is longer than the width, while the other three *aṅgas* are equilateral. The *karṇa* and *pratiratha* are not only equilateral but they also have the same proportion. The various *aṅgas* are broken into planes, the *bhadra* possessing seven, the *nandikā* three, and the *karṇa* and *pratiratha* five planes each. Except for the *bhadra*, the *aṅgas* are separated from one another by the *salilāntaras* inset with minor *koṇikās*. The frontal *karṇa* and *pratiratha* are transumted in a buffer wall which separates the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* from the sactum.

In elevation the sanctum may broadly be divided into three parts, viz. *pīṭha*, *maṇḍovora* and *śikhara*. The *pīṭha* consists of three *bhiṭṭas*, a plain *jāḍyakumbha*, *karṇikā*, a narrow, undecorated *antarapatra*, *grāsapaṭṭī*, *gajathara* and *narathara*. The lower *bhiṭṭa*, only partly exposed, is plain, while the middle and the upper *bhiṭṭas*, separated by a *kumuda*, are decorated with half diamonds and saw-tooth pattern respectively. In the *gajathara* the fore-part of elephants is generally shown, but the elephants on each *bhadra* are in profile and lustrate

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

a lotus plant carved on a round pedestal supporting the raised right leg of the elephants. The elephants are adorned with trappings and are vigorous. The *narathara* is relieved with various representations including fighting scenes, warriors, dual scenes, man fighting with lion, amorous couples, gladiators, elephant with rider, horse-rider, musicians and dancers, garland-bearer, Śiva-liṅga with worshippers, *padmāsanā* Lakṣmī and wrestlers.

The *maṇḍovara* is divisible into three parts : *vedibandha*, *jaṅghā* and *varaṇḍikā*.

The *vedibandha*, rising above the *pīṭha*, comprises *khura* ornamented with *udgama* pattern, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* decorated with the design of *paṭṭikābandha* bedecked with jewels, *antarapatra* adorned with diamonds and *kopata* embellished with *udgama* motif. The *kumbha* shows sculptured niches containing images of four-armed *lalitāsana* gods on the central facets and the figures of amorous couples and dancers on the side ones. The niches, the pedestal of which goes down in the *khura* and which is decorated with *kīrttimukhas*, generally represent the images of Śiva, Brahmā and some *dikpālas* like Yama, Nirṛti and Īśāna, but those on the *bhadras* are alloted to *āliṅganamūrtis* of Brahmā (south), Śiva (west) and Viṣṇu (north) with their consorts. The shoulder of the *kumbha* is adorned with carved foliage.

Above the *vedibandha* comes the *jaṅghā* supported by a *mañcikā* decorated with *kīrttimukhas* and *caitya*-dormer motif and carrying *lumbikās* underneath in conjugation with the pillaretes of the *parikarma* of the *jaṅghā* images. The *jaṅghā* proper displays figures of four-arm standing *dikpālas* on the *karṇas* and those of handsome *apsarās* in tortuous poses of dance on the *pratirathas* and of simple *apsarās* with seated amorous couples overhead on the *nandikās*. Each of these figures is framed between two segmented circular pillaretes topped by foliage-capital and is canopied overhead by a double-course *udgama* with squated monkeys on the flanks. The upper half of the pillaretes is flanked on the outer side by a *siṁhabyāla* on elephant and a *makara* with its mouth having opened. The figures stand on a projected pedestal carved on the soffit with stemmed lotus. The *dikpālas* are depicted in pair in their correct position on the *karṇas*, but the frontal *karṇas* being transmuted in a buffer wall, the *dikpālas* of the north-eastern and eastern quarters are transferred to the accompanying *pratirathas*. They wear *urujālaka* and a series of beaded girdles with *kaṭisūtra*, anklet, armlet, wristlet, necklaces with *urasūtra* and three-stranded garlands, earrings, *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and a long garland like the *vaijayantī* worn by Viṣṇu. In addition to these, Agni wears a beard, and Nirṛti a beard and a serpent-hood canopy instead of *karaṇḍamukuṭa*. The latter also does not wear any loin garment. The eight *dikpālas* with their distinctive attributes and *vāhanas* are as follows :

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

	UR Hand	*UL Hand*	*LR Hand*	*LL Hand*	*Vāhana*
Indra	*aṅkuśa*	*vajra*	broken	broken	elephant
Agni	ladle	lotus	,,	,,	ram
Yama	*daṇḍa*	*kukkuṭa*	,,	book	buffalo
Nirṛti	snake	shield	,,	broken	dog
Varuṇa	noose	lotus	,,	,,	*makara*
Vāyu	banner	banner	,,	,,	antelope
Kubera	*aṅkuṣa*	purse	*varada*	fruit	elephant
Īśāna	*śūla*	snake	*varadākṣa*	broken	bull

The *apsarās* wear similar dress and ornaments as do the *dikpālas* but the long *vaijayantī* is conspicuous by its absence, and instead of *karaṇḍamukuṭa* they have their hair well dressed up.

The *jaṅghā* on each *bhadra* shows a prominently projecting sculptured niche crowned by a ribbed awning and an *udgama*. The niches depict 20-armed images of Bhairava, Naṭarāja and Cāmuṇḍā on the south, west and north *bhadras* respectively, but unfortunately most of their hands are mutilated. Outside the niche, on either side, is a figure of female caurī-bearer. The *salilāntaras* are occupied by the figures of Śaiva saints, who wear a beard and a *kaupīna* and have one of their hands upraised, the other hanging down on the side.

The *udgama* crowning the *jaṅghā* figures is followed in its turn by a deep round fillet filled with *grāsapaṭṭī* and a circular *bharaṇī* clasped by drooping foliage. The *bharaṇī* only appears on the *karṇas* and *pratirathas*, elsewhere it is replaced by a *narathara*. The *varaṇḍikā* consists of a usual *kapota*, an *antarapatra* carved with diamonds and a *khuracchādya*.

The *śikhara* belongs to the *anekāṇḍaka* class and is squat. It rises from a *prahāra* which consists of a deep fillet, an arris, a *padma* and a projected fillet. Its composition shows a *pañcaratha mūlamañjarī* marked on the quoin by seven stages of *bhūmi-āmalakas*, three *uromañjarīs* and a *rathikā* along each *bhadra*, two *karṇaśṛṅgas* over each *karṇa* and *pratiratha*, a smaller *śṛṅga* (half the size of *karṇaśṛṅga*) over each *nandikā* and a *pratyaṅga* leaning upon the upper *uromañjarī*. Between the *śṛṅgas* are *gajamuṇḍas*. The upper part of the *mūlamañjarī* and the *skandha* are sadly damaged and the crowning members including *āmalasāraka* clasped by a diamond-band, *candrikā*, *āmalasārikā*, *kalaśa* and *vījapūraka* are restored. All the *śṛṅgas* and *uromañjarīs* are also of the *pañcaratha* variety and are crowned by *āmalakas*. The three *ratnikās* built at the base of the *śikhara* shelter the images of Brahmā (south), Viṣṇu (north) and Śiva (west) with their consorts. Seated in *lalitāsana* and possessing four arms, they are represented with their respective attributes and *vāhanas*. Brahmā carries *sruk* and *padma* in the upper right and left hands; his lower hand bears a pitcher and the object held by the corresponding left one is indistinct; his

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

vehicle is gone now. Śiva holds *śūla* in the upper right hand and a fruit in the lower right one; his other two hands are broken off. He has bull as his *vāhana*. Riding on a Garuḍa, Viṣṇu holds his usual *padma*, *śaṅkha* and *cakra* symbols in the upper right, lower right and lower left arms respectively; but his hand carrying the *gadā* is mutilated. Each *rathikā* is flanked on either side by a balcony-model and shows an *udgama* as the pediment. The entire *śikhara* is covered with a lattice of *caitya*-arches.

The doorframe of the sanctum is an ornate one. It belongs to the *sapta-śākhā* variety consisting of *patra*, *rūpa*, *rūpa*, *rūpastambha*, *rūpa*, *rūpa* and a *śākhā* adorned with winding creepers. The *patraśākhā* is relieved with lotus scrolls issuing from the navel of a *kinnar* carved below. The *rūpastambha* depicts three successive niches, each containing an image of four-armed *lalitāsana* Śiva holding *śūla*, snake, *varadamudrā* and fruit and mounting a bull, while the *rūpa-śākhās* display figures of female dancers and musicians, four flanking each image of Śiva on the *rūpastambha*. The lower part of the *śākhās* is occupied by a framed figure of Śiva standing in *tribhaṅga* with his bull *vāhana*. The figure on proper right is armed with *śūla*, snake, (broken, and fruit, while all except the upper right arm carrying the *ḍamarū* of the proper left figure are broken off. Both the figures are accompanied on each side by two female *caurī*-bearers. The jambs terminate on top in a band of *kīrttimukhas* set up in an arch flanked on the outer *rūpa-śākhā* by a *mālādhara*.

The *udumbara* is divided into two registers. The lower register shows minor mouldings of *jāḍyakumbha*, *karṇikā* and *grāsapaṭṭī*, while the upper one displays a round projecting *mandāraka* carved with stemmed lotus in the centre, a projecting *kīrttimukha* on either side of it and a sculptured niche depicting a four-armed figure of Gaṇeśa on extreme right and that of Kubera on extreme left, both seated in *lalitāsana* with their consorts and accompanied by five female attendants, two on the outer and three on the inner side. Gaṇeśa holds in three hands goad, lotus and *modaka* with his trunk on it, while the fourth is gone. His mouse vehicle is also depicted. Mounting an elephant, Kubera carries goad, purse, noose and lotus.

Like the *udumbara*, the *uttaraṅga* is also divided into two registers. The lower register shows a stylised *ghaṭapallava* capital topping the jambs on either end, while the space in between them is filled with a lotus-scroll band continued from the *patraśākhā* and a row of *mālādharas* facing the *lalāṭabiṁba*, which represents Gaṇeśa with four female attendants. The upper register displays five sculptured niches alternating with four recesses. The niches contain similar images of Śiva as are noticed on the *rūpastambha*, while the four recesses harbour an image of two-armed dancing Cāmuṇḍā and three figures of four-armed standing male divinities, one identifiable with Brahmā. The central and the two

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

extreme niches have prominent projection and are crowned by a triple *udgama*, while the two other niches are topped by a single *udgama* with a figure of *kinnara* on the one flank and that of *kinnarī* on the other. Above the upper register are depicted a band of creepers and a band of lotus scrolls.

In front of the door and touching the *udumbara* is a *candraśilā* which consists of an *ardhacandra* tied on both ends by *śaṅkha*, *padmapatra* and *gagāraka* and flanked in turn by two *talarūpakas*.

Inside the sanctum is a modern stone Śivaliṅga with *arghya*.

Raṅgamaṇḍapa—It is *dvyaṅga* on plan consisting of a *karṇa* and a long but little projected *bhadra* and is entered from the front through a *mukhacatuṣkī*. It shares its *pīṭha* with the sanctum, but above that it is enclosed by a short balustraded plain wall consisting of a *rājasenaka*, *vedikā* and *āsanapaṭṭa*. The *rājasenaka* shows diamonds framed by pilasters; at the corners of the *aṅgas* are *udgamas*. The *vedikā* is divided into upright posts alternated by depressed slabs. On the *āsanapaṭṭa* of the balustrade, at the angles, are placed pillars supporting the architraves. The pillars consist of only a shaft and a capital. The shaft is square at the base, octagonal in the middle and circular on top, the last one being surmounted by a *kīrttimukha* band. The capital consists of a circular short *bharaṇī* of *padma* topped by a four or five-armed double-roll bracket. The architraves are divided into two fasciae, the lower showing lotus scrolls emerging from the mouth of a *kīrttimukha* carved in the centre, and the upper diamonds alternating with pilasters, while their underside shows a lotus medallion in the centre. It has been now closed up by brick walls, and its roof has been plastered up.

The interior of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, which has always been the chief attraction of the temples of Gujarat, having been thoroughly restored and plastered up during recent years is most disappointing. However, the two ornate pilasters near the sanctum door are original and bespeak of the grandeur of this *maṇḍapa*. Both these pilasters are of the square type with corners chamfered into three angles. Their moulded base shows a plain *khura*, *kumbha* with niched *lalitāsana* goddesses, *kalaśa*, *antarapatra* and *kapota* decorated with *caitya*-arch design. The shaft is divided into three sections, the lower being square, the middle octagonal and the upper circular. The square portion shows a framed figure of four-armed Śiva standing with his bull *vāhana*. The figure on the proper right pilaster carries *śūla*, snake and fruit in three hands, while the fourth is mutilated. Except for *ḍamarū*, the objects held by the figure on the corresponding left pilaster are broken off. The octagonal section reveals a *kumuda* and a belt of sculptured niches containing images of four-armed *lalitāsana* Śiva. The circular part of the shaft is clasped by five decorative bands. The broad lowermost band is treated like a half-blown lotus bearing creeper on the petals. The next three

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

bands are adorned with chain-and-bells, *gandharvas* and geese respectively. The topmost band shows *kīrttimukhas* spewing pearl-festoons, the ends of which are secured at below by a band of diamonds and beads. The capital consists of a round *padma-bharaṇī* and a four-armed double-roll plain bracket.

The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* contains three images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Umā-Maheśvara, all made of white marble and partly damaged. The four-armed Viṣṇu holds *gadā* and *cakra* in the two upper hands, while his lower two hands are broken off. He stands between the two segmented pillaretes topped by foliage capital and is flanked on either side by a female attendant. He wears a *mukuṭa* and has Garuḍa as his *vāhana*.

Framed like Viṣṇu, Brahmā wears a beard and carries *sruk* and book in the two upper hands, while the lower two hands are sadly damaged. His swan vehicle is also represented.

Seated on Nandī with his consort Umā, Śiva holds *śūla* and snake in the two upper hands, while his lower two hands are mutilated.

At present, the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* also contains an image of Nandī facing the *garbhagṛha*.

There are two inscriptions near the east side of the temple, one bearing the date V.S. 1263 (1207 A.D.) and the other V.S. 1346 (1290 A.D.). Cousens and Bhandarkar do not say anything about these inscriptions[3] probably the inscriptions were procured and installed there during recent years. The earlier of these inscriptions being worn out is only partly read, while the later one is well preserved and read out wholly. But, unfortunately, they do not contain any information about the temple.

Date of the Temple—Comparing its doorway and pilasters with those of the Sun Temple at Modhera, Bhandarkar dates it about the middle of the 11th century A.D.[4] There is no doubt that the doorway and pilasters show similarity, the absence of *khalvaśākhā* on the doorway and the presence of goose-band on the pilasters of the present temple are such features which proclaim a 12th century date for this temple.

Stylistically Dhaky places it in the time of Kumārapāla (1144-74 A.D.).[5] Indeed the temple seems to be a close successor of the Neminātha temple at the same site, which is precisely dated to 1136 A.D. This is clearly evident from the constituent parts and the decorative elements of the *pīṭha* and *maṇḍovara* which in both the temples are more or less the same, only that the *vedibandha* of the *maṇḍovara* of this temple is more ornate as it shows carved foliage on the shoulder of the *kumbha* and the *paṭṭikābandha* on the *kalaśa*. These ornaments gained much popularity from the late 12th century. The *jaṅghā* sculptures are more angular, and the poise and glamour which are so characteristics of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Neminātha temple are lacking here. In fact these sculptures closely resemble those in the Ajitanātha temple at Taranga (1164 A.D.). The absence of goose-band on all the pillars of the Neminātha temple also shows that it was built earlier than the Kumbheśvara temple. The *śtkhara* of the temple is a developed one but it lacks in height and its *caitya*-arches forming the lattice-ornament are thin and minute, but uot as minute as those in the Sambhavanātha temple at this site, which is a 13th century erection. The undecorated short balustrade having no seat-back is very akin to that in the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Miani (1204 A.D.) From the above discussion it thus appears that the temple was built some time in the late 12th century.

References

1. Forbes, A. K., *Rāsa-Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 323.
2. Vishalvijay, *Ārāsaṇatīrtha*, Bhavnagar, 1961, Nos. 155, 160.
3. Bhandarkar, D. R., *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1905-06*, p. 43-45.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
5. Dhaky, M. A., "The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat", *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, No. 3, Bhopal, 1961, p. 57.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

MORE ABOUT GO-VIJÑĀNA

By

J. P. THAKER, Baroda

This paper is in continuation of the present writer's paper on '*Go-Vijñāna Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda*' published on pp. 224-239 of the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1980. Therein he dealt with the *Go-Vijñāna* portions of three works viz.: (1) *Kāśyapīya-Kṛṣi-sūkti* of the sage **Kāśyapa** and (2) *Mṛga-pakṣi-śāstram* of **Haṃsadeva** both in manuscript form and (3) *Kṛṣi-Parāśara* of the sage **Paraśāra** published in the Bibliotheca Indica. Very interesting information could be gathered from these works regarding bulls and cows. These works, however, lacked such important topics as the feeding of the cow-family, its diseases and their remedies.

Recently an aged friend, Shri G. G. Joshi, a retired Civil Engineer of Nagpur, was kind enough to draw the present writer's attention to one more treatise on Agriculture called *Kṛṣi-Śāsanamī* a copy whereof could also be procured through his good offices.

This work is compiled by Śāstrī **Daśaratha Nārāyaṇa Dwivedī** who himself has written a commentary in Sanskrit called '*Nārāyaṇa-bhāṣya*' after the name of his sage-father and another commentary in Hindī named '*Rāghava-bhāṣya*' memorising the name of his patron Hon. Magistrate Rai Bahadur Shri **Rāghobā Ratirāma** of *Śāṇḍilya-gotra* whose two worthy sons Shri **Śukadeva** and Shri **Vāsudeva** shouldered the responsibility of publishing the work.[1]

This treatise appears not to be known to many scholars. An attempt is, therefore, made here to give a brief survey of the relevant portion from the same.

The treatise was completed on Monday, the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada in V.S. 1966 (i.e. 1910 A.D.).[2] The Sanskrit Commentary was completed on Thursday, the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada in V.S. 1967 (i.e. 1911 A.D.)[3], while the Hindī

---

1 प्रस्तावनम्, pp. 1-2.

2 स्थित्वा तस्यैव गेहे रसरसनवभूवत्सरे वैक्रमीये
शुक्ले भाद्रे सुमासे कुमुदसखदिने कार्तिकेयस्य तिथ्याम् ।
नानावेदागमादेः कृषिकृदनुभवान्नातिसंगृह्य चाऽऽशु
विद्वन्मोदाय धीराः सुमुनिमतकृषेः शासनं सम्पिपर्मि ॥ XI. 48, p. 204.

3 सप्ताङ्गाङ्कधरावर्षे वैक्रमीये च प्रावृषि ।
भाद्रे कृष्णे त्रयोदश्यां गुरौ पूर्तिमगादिदम् ॥ १ ॥
Verse 1 out of the two closing verses of the commentary, p. 207.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

commentary was completed on Monday, the eighth day of the dark half of the month of Aśvina in V.S. 1967 (i.e. 1911 A.D.)[4] The work was published at Nagpur on the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha in V.S. 1977, Śaka 1842 (i.e. 1921 A.D.).

As mentioned in the three-page Sanskrit Introduction (p. 1), Shri Daśarathaśāstrin, after studying the *saṃhitās* or ancient treatises and with an effort to find out the evidences or authentic statements from the *Śrutis*, *the Smṛtis*, *the Purāṇas*, *the Itihāsas* etc., came to the conclusion that husbandry alone was the most meritorious profession throughout the life. Consequently he combined verses very carefully composed by him with those collected from the ancient texts and in that way nicely compiled this treatise of eleven chapters under the title *Kṛṣiśāsanam*, i.e., 'Treatise on Agriculture'.[5]

The first chapter of this important work lays down that the profession of Agriculture is suitable for *Brāhmaṇas*.

At the commencement of the second *Adhyāya* the four feet of Agriculture are enumerated viz. :—(1) the land, (2) two bulls or oxen, (3) the seeds and (4) the master i.e. the ploughman.[6] It is further stated that it would fail if it lacks even one of these feet.[7] Then the treatment of the first of these four feet viz. the land follows.

Chapter III deals with the bulls or oxen that form the second *pāda* of Agriculture. Chapter IV treats of the diseases of the bulls etc. and their remedies. Chapter V discusses the third foot of Agriculture viz. the seeds. In the sixth chapter we find treatment of the fourth pāda viz. the farmer whose diseases and their remedies are also mentioned. A discussion on the important topic of actual ploughing with all its details is found in chapter VII. The different types of the ploughshare are also explained here with several diagrams.

---

4 श्रीविक्रम उन्नीश सौ, सरसठि संवत् मास ।
आश्विन कृष्णा अष्टमी, चन्द्रवार निजवास ॥ १ ॥
मुनिसम्मत कृषिशास्त्रको, राघवभाष्य समाप्त ।
श्रीराघोबा बुध रच्यो, सावनेरपुर ख्यात ॥ २ ॥

5 संहिताग्रन्थान्पर्यालोलुच्य यत्र तत्र श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासादिषु प्रमाणानि समन्वालोचयित्रा कर्षणमेवातिपुण्यतममाजीवनमिति मन्यमानेन मया प्रत्याहारम्प्रुत्याहारं क्वचिन्निजनिर्म्मितपद्यपाठङ्कारङ्कारङ् क्वचिच्च यथालब्धमेव पाठं विन्यस्यैतदतिविस्तृतमेकादशाध्यायात्मकं कृषिशासनं नाम पुस्तकं संगुम्फितम् । —प्रस्तावनम्, p. 1.

6 भूमिश्च प्रथमः पादो द्वितीयौ गौस्तृतीयकः ।
बीजान्तुर्यः पतिः प्रोक्तः कृषिशास्त्रविशारदैः ॥ II.2, p. 40.

7 एकेनाऽपि विहीना सा निष्फला भवति क्षणात् ।
यथा धर्मश्चिकित्सा च यथा गौश्च कृषिस्तथा ॥ II.3, p. 40.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Auspicious timings etc. are also mentioned. Particulars regarding rainfall are stated in the eighth *Adhyāya* along with the astrological aspect. The ninth chapter gives details regarding the good and bad astrological features indicating plenty or otherwise as a guidance to the agriculturist. The tenth one deals with general details regarding sowing, weeding, reaping and even the first eating of the new crops; while the last one gives an idea of such related topics as necessity of sacrifices, importance of donations, the profession of husbandry etc. In two concluding verses some details regarding the author and the composition of the treatise are given.

Now let us have a brief survey of chapters III and IV which are relevant to our subject.

In the very first verse of chapter III, the ploughshare, the oxen and the buffaloes are stated as the factors essential for ploughing. The next fourteen verses stress the importance of the cow-family which should be well nourished and protected.

Verses 16 and 17 lay down that at the age of three or four years the nose of a well-nourished calf should be pierced by experts with a twelve-finger-long wedge of either the *Khadira* or the *Śiṃśapā* wood. It is specifically enjoined that under no circumstances this should be done earlier nor in the case of a weak one.

Further the stable should have its door either facing the south or the north (18).[8] The cattle should be tied there facing these two directions but never facing the rest (19).

It is specified in verse 21 that the characteristics of the cows and bulls are abridged here as stated by the great sage Parāśara to Bṛhadratha. The Sanskrit commentary clarifies that for details the sixtyfirst *Adhyāya* of the *Bṛhat-parāśara-Saṃhitā* may be consulted.[9]

The next three verses (22-24) mention the following *inauspicious characteristics of the cows.*

(1) Eyes full of tears or arid or resembling those of mice; (2) unsteady and flat horns and temples; (3) donkey-like form (or colour); (4) ten, seven or four teeth; (5) prolonged head and face; (6) depressed back; (7) short and thick neck; (8) barley-like waist (*yava-madhyāḥ*); (9) broken hoofs (*dārita-khurāḥ*); (10) dark-brown and prolonged tongue (*śyāvā'tidīrghajihvāḥ*); (11) ankles very small or very big (*gulphair-atitanubhir-atibṛhadbhirvā*); (12) huge hump (*atikakudāḥ*); (13) thin body; and (14) limbs either less or more in number (*hīnādhikāṅgyaḥ*) 22-24).

---

8 The numbers in brackets indicate those of the verses.

9 तच्च बृहत्पाराशरसंहितायामेकषष्टितमेऽध्याये विलोकनीयम् ।

—Commentary on III.21, p. 61.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The inauspicious characteristics of bulls are then enumerated in five verses (25-29) as under:—

(1) Thick and very long testicles (*sthūlātilambavṛṣaṇaḥ*); (2) Middle part spread over by veins (*śirātata-kroḍaḥ*); (3) temples covered with thick veins (*sthūlaśirācita-gaṇḍaḥ*); (4) emitting seminal fluid at three places (*tri-sthānaṃ mehate yaḥ*); (5) cat-like eyes (*mārjārākṣaḥ*); (6) tawny colour (*kapilaḥ*); (7) darkened lips, palate and tongue (*kṛṣṇauṣṭhatālujihvaḥ*); (8) big anus and horns (*sthūlaśakṛn-maṇi-śṛṅgaḥ*); (9) white belly (*sitodaraḥ*); (10) spotted like a Kṛṣṇasāra deer (*kṛṣṇasāra-varṇaḥ*); (11) limbs heaped like *śyāmāka* flowers (*śyāmāka-puṣpa-citāṅgaḥ*); (12) resembling the sun of ashes((*bhasmāruṇa-sannibhaḥ*) i.e., having a mixture of red and ash colours; (13) when yoked, lifting their legs up as if from mud (*ye coddharanti pādān paṅkād-iva yojitāḥ*); (14) slender neck (*kṛśagrīvāḥ*); (15) frightened eyes (*kātara-nayanāḥ*); (16) low back (*hīnāḥ pṛṣṭhataḥ*).

The next ten verses (30-39) give *auspicious characteristics* of the bull:

(1) Soft, compact and red lips; (2) thin hips; (3) red palate and tongue; (4) thin and short ears; (5) well-shaped belly; (6) evident legs; (7) reddish and compact hoofs; (8) broad chest; (9) large hump; (10) body, skin and bristles all glossy, tender and charming; (11) red and slender horns; (12) slender tail touching the ground; (13) corners of the eyes red; (14) deep breathing; (15) lion-like shoulders; (16) nice gait; (17) left-ward spiral on the left side and right-ward spiral on the right side; (18) legs resembling those of a deer.

The following features characterise excellent beasts of burden (34):

(19) eyes resembling cat's-eye gems, Mallikā buds and bubbles; (20) gross eyes and skin; (21) indistinct heels.

These characteristics indicate horse-like fast speed (35):

(22) folds on the nose; (23) face resembling that of a cat; (24) white right side; (25) eyes resembling lotuses and lilies; (26) a nice tail.

Those who possess the following characteristics are also noted for their loaded travel and horse-like speed (36):

(27) long testicles; (28) belly resembling that of a lamb; (29) contracted thigh-joints and waist (*saṅkṣipta-vaṅkṣaṇa-kroḍaḥ*).

One possessing these characteristics is called '*haṃsa*' and is regarded as producing auspicious fruit and enhancing the herd (37):

(30) white colour; (31) tawny eyes; (32) red horns and eyes: (33) big face.

The following features of a bull are regarded to be indicative of the master's prosperity (38):

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(34) Tail touching the ground; (35) reddish thigh-joints; (36) red eyes; (37) prominent hunch ; (38) variegation (*kalmāṣaḥ*) ;

One having these characteristics is also regarded as producing praiseworthy results (39^{ab}) : (39) one leg white ; (40) having desirable colours (*yatheṣṭa-varṇaḥ*).

Cow's auspicious and inauspicious characteristics

These characteristics apply to the bulls as well. (40).

Bad indications ($41\text{-}42^{a}$) :

(1) Distressed cows indicate calamity (lit. : inauspiciousness-*aśivāḥ*) for the king ; (2) breaking the ground asunder with its feet foretells diseases ; (3) tearful big eyes indicate death ; (4) fearing on the part of a cow portends the advent of thieves ; (5) crying without any reason is indicative of bad events.

Good indications (42^{bcd}) : (6) crying out of a bull without any cause indicates welfare ; (7) harassment by bees and affection for young ones indicate immediate rain-fall.

Varieties of Bulls (verses 44 ff.)

Five varieties of bulls ($44\text{-}49^{b}$) :

(1) *Brāhmaṇa bulls* :

White bodied, gentle (*śucayaḥ*), wrathless (*a-kṛddhāḥ*), tender (*mṛdavaḥ*), pure-minded (*śuddha-cetasaḥ*), eating less, very strong.

(2) *Kṣatriya bulls* :

Red-bodied, wrathful, sharp-tempered (tīkṣṇāḥ), unsteady (*cañcalāḥ*), eating much, joyful, stronger than the first variety (*balavattarāḥ*).

(3) *Vaiśya bulls* :

Yellow-bodied, gentle, wrathless (*a-krodhāḥ*), capable of carrying burdens, eating at will (*yadṛcchā-bhojinaḥ*), thin (*kṣīṇaḥ*).

(4) *Śūdra bulls :*

Black-bodied, cruel-hearted, impure, always eating, having big testicles, wrathful (*roṣāḥ*).

(5) *Dvijāti bulls :*

Possessing the characteristics of any two of these classes.

Vātsya and Bhoja (in his '*Kalpataru*') have also divided them into five groups according to the three *guṇas* (50-55) :

(1) *Sāttvika :*

White, pure, bearing heavy loads, eating much, slight anger.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(2) *Rājasa :*

Distinct and indistinct wrath, pure, stubborn, bearing burdens, eating much, very powerful.

(3) *Tāmasa :*

Pallid, deformed, weak, eating less, impure, very angry (*bṛhad-roṣāḥ*).

(4) *Dviguṇa :*

Possessing characteristics of any two of these types.

(5) *Triguṇa :*

Possessing characteristics of all the three types. It is regarded as the lowest type of bull (*vṛṣādhama*).

Bhoja has again enumerated eight types of bulls according to their peculiarities (56-68) :

(1) *Nīla* :

Any colour except white; hoofs, horns, forehead and tail white; believed to bring about auspiciousness (*śubham āvahet*).

(2) *Śubha* :

Pleased and well-nourished (*hṛṣṭa-puṣṭa*), charming, symmetrical body. If devoid of blemishes, it enhances wealth.

(3) *Dhvaja :*

Natural colour, beautiful tail. Augments the family, wealth and crops of its master.

(4) *Vāma :*

The upper part (*Pūrvārdha*) is lofty and the lower part (*parārdha*) is low. If devoid of blemishes, it destroys enemies.

(5) *Kṣema* :

Possessing a natural mark (*candraka*) in the forehead. It enhances wealth and crops.

(6) *Bhadra* :

Auspicious eye-brows (*āvartāḥ*), auspicious curls of hair (*śuktayaḥ*). It accomplishes all the tasks of the master.

(7) *Śiva* :

Legs dark, tail and forehead white, eyes big, ears very small and steady, testicles black, horns very firm, scanty bristles, high speed, affectionate and deep sound. Indeed it brings about welfare.

(8) *Sthira* :

Legs yellow and bulky; head slightly white; a long distinct line from tail to head; palate, lips and tongue red. Such a bull makes his master's prosperity steady.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Gargācārya, however, gives the virtues and vices of the bull altogether in a different way. Its *virtues*, according to him, are : (1) huge and well-nourished body, (2) thin or scanty bristles, (3) carrying loads and (4) youthfulness (69). He enumerates the following seven *great blemishes* (*mahā-doṣāḥ*) of the bulls :

(1) *Vyaṅga*, (2) *Vivarṇa*, (3) *Viṣama* (4) *Śvitrī* (5) *Dhūmra*, (6) *Cala* and (7) *Khara* (70).

These blemishes are described in verses 71 to 81. Instead of going into the details thereof we may now turn to the next chapter.

Adhyāya IV deals with the diseases of bulls etc. and their remedies (*Vṛṣādi-rogāṇāṃ cikitsā*) in 58 verses. At the very outset it is laid down that one who is desirous of one's own welfare should never employ to work a bull which has a very thin body, which is suffering from diseases, which is lacking vitality and strength and which is fatigued, hungry and thirsty.[10]

The agriculturists who know very well how to protect the cow family are ordained here to compassionately protect such weak ones with effort by offering water, fodder and food.[11]

It is clearly stated that the diseases produced by wind (*vāta*), billious condition (*pitta*) and phlegm (*kapha*) are common to human beings and bulls and therefore the same treatment should be given to the bulls (as is prescribed for men) (4).

Then the following diseases of the bulls are mentioned along with their remedies. Instead of going into details it may suffice for us just to name them in the order of treatment:

(1) Aching of the shoulder (5); (2) Swelling of the shoulder (6-7); (3) Boils or ulcers with swelling (8); (4) Oozing from boils or ulcers (9-10^{ab}); (5) Healing of wounds (10^{cd}-11^{d}); (6) The disease called *ghegha*, i.e., looseness of throat, liquid stools and thinness of body on account of grazing grass smeared with clay of river-bank (12-15^{b}); (7) Itching (*kaṇḍū*) (15^{c}-16^{b}); (8) Swelling (*āṭopa*) (16^{cd}); (9) Weak digestion (*mandāgni*) (17-19^{b}); (10) *Hanna-vāta*, i.e., whirling round. falling down, shaking, again falling and stretching of legs, which is considered as incurable (*asādhya*). (19^{c}-23^{b}); (11) (a) *Khañja* (lame)—a type of gas (*vāta*) due to which one of the four legs has to be dragged while walking; (b) *Paṅgu* (crippled)—two legs are dragged

---

10 प्रक्षीणकायं गदपीडितञ्च प्राणप्रहीणं बलतो विहीनम् ।
श्रान्तं क्षुधार्तं तृषितं वृषाख्यं नो योजयेच्चेत्स्वशुभं समीहेत् ॥ IV.1.

11 तेषान्तु रक्षा कृषिकैरवश्यं गोरक्षणज्ञानवतां वरिष्ठैः ।
प्रयत्नतोऽम्भस्तृणकान्नदानैः सदा विधेया दययेष्टवच्च ॥ IV.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

while walking (23^c-25^b); (12) *Bṛṃhaṇa*—nourishing (25^c-28^d); (13) *Śṛṅga-roga*—horn-disease (29); (14) *Karṇa-śūla*—ear-ache (30^a-31^b); (15) *Danta-mūla-śūla*—aching of the gums (31^c-32^b); (16) *Mukha-jihvā-roga*—diseases of mouth and tongue (32^c-33^a); (17) *Gala-graha*—a kind of disease of the throat, feeling being throttled (33^b); (18) (a) *Hṛt-chūla*—acute pain in the chest; (b) *Basti-śūla*—pain in the pubic region ; (c) *Vāta-roga*—rheumatism ; (d) *Kṣaya*—consumption (33^c-34^b); (19) *Atīsāra*—dysentry (34^{cd}) ; (20) *Bhagna-sandhāna-vidhi*—re-joining broken joints (35^{ab}) ; (21) *Vāta-pitta-pratīkāra*—remedies for wind and bile (35^{cd}); (22) *Kapha-rakta-pratīkāra*—remedies for blood stained phlegm (36^a) ; (23) Blood-diseases (*raktaja*) (36^b); (24) *Bhagna-kṣati*—fracture of leg (36^{cd}) ; (25) (a) *Koṣṭha-roga*—diseases of the bowels ; (b) *Śākhā-roga*—diseases of the extremeties ; (c) *Kāsa*—coughing, catarrh ; (d) *Śvāsa*—asthma (37) ; (26) *Puṣṭi-vidhi*—nourishing food for the calves as well as the bulls (38^a-39^a) ; (27) *Graha* or *ava-graha*—harassment by imps (39^b-40^d) ; (28) *Śuṣka-dugdha-roga*—drying up of milk (41-42) ; (29) *Dugdha-vṛddhi-vidhi*—means for increasing the quantity of milk (43^a-46^b) ; (30) *Sarva-roga-pratīkāra*—remedy for getting rid of all diseases (46^c-50^d).

After narrating the diseases and their remedies two types of *Śānti* are given in two verses (51-52) :

(1) On every fifth day of the lunar month goddess Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Glory, as also Vāsudeva are to be worshipped on cow-dung with cent (*gandha*) etc. (51) ; and (2) On the full-moon-day of the month of Āśvina such gods as Viṣṇu, Rudra, Brahmā and Sūrya as also goddess Lakṣmī are to be worshipped and offerings of clarified butter (*ghṛta*) are to be given to Fire, which ceremony is known as *Polotsava* (52).

In the final six verses of the *Adhyāya* also such performances as curds-eating, bull-fight, offering salt to the cows and gifts to the Brāhmaṇas etc. are laid down.

The diseases and their treatment were not found in the ancient works dealt with in the previous paper. The *Kṛṣiśāsanam*, therefore, bears importance of its own, treating as it does of the diseases and their remedies.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

Acta Orientalia, Academiae Scientiarum Hungarieae, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, Postafiok 24

Tomus XXXIV, Fas. 1-3, 1980

Lokesh Chandra : Comparative Iconography of the Goddess Uṣṇīṣavijayā

Sternbach, L. : Note on the Identification of Some Sayings in Sa Skya Paṇḍita's Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi

Wayman, A. : The Samādhi Lists of the Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra and the Mahāvyutpatti

Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi, Vidyabhavan, Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Savajanik Education Society, Athava Lines, Surat

No. 24, Aug. 1980

Pandya, Vijay : Mudrārākṣasa (A Study based on the Principles of the Sanskrit Dramaturgy)

Shah, Nilanjana S. : Bodha-pradīpa

Bhayani, Harivallabha : Kumāresaṁbhavamāṁ Śivavācaka Samjñāono Prayoga (Gujarati)

Patel, Gautam : Kālidāsano Ādya Ṭīkākāra Vallabhadeva (Vyakti ane Samaya) (Gujarati)

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, W.C. 1

Vol. XLIV, Part 2, 1981

Handurukande, Ratna : Matsaranandāvadāna

Indian Philosophical Quarterly, Pratap Centre of Philosophy, Amalner and Department of Philosophy, University of Poona, Poona 7

Vol. IX, No. 1, Oct 1981

Gupta, Bina : Skepticism—Ancient East and Modern West

Watson, Ian Kesarcoḍi : Can I Die ?—An Essay in Religious Philosophy

Kothari, M. M. : Refutation of Śaṅkara's Doctrine of Brahman

No. 2, January, 1982

Mukherji, Anil Kumar : The Ultimate Realities and Consciousness in the Whiteheadian Scheme and in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika System

Chakravarti, Meera : The Concept of Emotion in Tantra

Das, Ganesh Prasad : An Analytical Study of the Concept of Indriya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Tripathy, R. K. : The Nature and Significance of Spirituality
Javadekar, A. G. : Philosophical Ecology

Jain Journal, Jain Bhavan, P. 25, Kalkar Street, Calcutta-7
Vol. XVI, No. 2, October 81

Mehta, Mohan Lal : Jaina Concept of Suffering
Dasgupta, P. C. : The Daughters of Heaven in the Art of the Nirgrantha
Kundu, B B. : Jainism

Journal of Indian Philosophy, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, Holland/Boston U.S.A.
Vol. 9, No. 1, March 81

Herzberger, Hans G. & Herzberger, Radhika : Bhartṛhari's Paradox
Bagachi, K. : Towards a Metaphysic of Self
Rajendra Prasad : The Theory of Puruṣārthas—Revaluation and Reconstruction
Bilimoria, Puruṣottama : Ākāṅkṣā : Expectancy in Sentimental Comprehension—An Advaita Critique

No. 2, June 1981

Davis, Lawrence : Tarka in the Nyāya Theory of Influence
Siderits, Mark : The Madhyamaka Critique of Epistemology II

No. 3, Sept. 1981

Watson, Ian Kesarcodi : An Ancient Indian Argument for what I am
Tola, Fernando and Dragonetti, Carmen : Nāgārjuna's Conception of Voidness (Sūnyatā)
Taber, John : Reason, Revelation and Idealism in Śaṅkara's Vedānta
Bronkhorst, Johannes : Yoga and Seśvara Sāṅkhya

[*The*] *Journal of International Studies, Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, 333 Ogura, Hirakata city, Osaka-Fu, Japan*
No. 7, 1980

Ucida, Norihiko : Pregnancy Rites and Songs in South India
Mathur, Ramesh : Women in Hindu Society—Status and Inage—Part Six

Journal of the American Oriental Society, 329 Sterling Memorial Library, Yale Station, New Havan, Coun 06520
Vol. 101, No. 1, Jan-Mar 1981

Sternbach, Ludwik : Indian Wisdom and Its Spread Beyond India.

Journal of the Indian Musicological Society, Indian Musicological Society, Jambu Bet, Dandia Bazar, Baroda-390001.
Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, Sept-Dec. 1981

Ramanathan, N. : Shruti According to Ancient Texts

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Deva, B. C.: The Harmonium and Indian Music
Kothari, Sunil: Enactment of Gītagovinda in Neo-classical Dance Forms

[*The*] *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, International Association of Buddhist Studies, Department of South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706 U.S.A.*

Vol. 4, No. 1, 1981

Cabezon, Jose I.: The Concepts of Truth and Meaning in the Buddhist Scriptures
Schuster, Nancy: Changing the Female Body—Wise Women and Boddhisattva Career in Some Mahāratnakūṭasūtras
Werner, Karel: Bodhi and Arahattaphala—From Early Buddhism to Early Mahāyāna
Ichimura, Shohei: A Study on the Mādhyamika Method of Refutation and Its Influence on Buddhist Logic

[*The*] *Journal of the Music Academy, Music Academy Madras, 306 Mowbray's Road, Madras 300014*

Vol. LII, 1981

Aiyar, P. K. Rajagopala: Sāma Veda and Saṅgīta
Iyer, S. Venkitasubramonia: The Utsava Prabandha of Svati Tirunal
Viswanathan, Gomati: The Temple Music of South India

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. XXI, No. 1, Sept. 1981

Sharma, T. R.: Date of Viśākhadatta
Bhat, G. K.: Āmukha-Prastāvanā
Pandey, A. N.: Philosophy of Pañcaśikha
Ghosal, S. N.: The Reconversion of Saddālaputta and the Retreat of Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla
Kashalikar, M. J.: Concept of a Purāṇa in Jaina Literature
Pandya, B. P.: The Vrajavadhūcaraṇarajomāhātmyaṁ—A Study

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 56, Queen Anne Street, London WIM 9 LA

No. 1, 1981

Allan, Nigel: The Oriental Collections in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London
Kulke, Herman: King Anaṅgabhīma III, the Veritable Founder of the Gujarati Kingship and of Jagannatha Trinity at Puri

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Journal of the University of Gauhati, University of Gauhati, Gauhati, 781014, Assam

Vols. XXVIII-XXIX, No. 1, 1977-78

Sinha, K. P. : The Theory of Momentariness and Its Defence

Sharma, M. M. : A Note on Dvidhābhidhāna

Shastri, Acharya Manoranjan : Traditions about the Birth Place of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Dharmakīrtī

Hazarika, B. N. : Flora and Fauna in the Brāhmaṇa Literature

Bhattacharyya, A. K. : Popular Assemblies in the Later Vedic Age

Sircar, D. C. : Some Problems of Textual Study

Kurukshetra University Rseearch Journal, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

Vol. XII, 1978

Verma, S. P. : Psycho-Physical Parallelism of the Jainas

Harisimha : Cārvāka-kṛta Anumāna Khaṇḍana kī Samīkṣā (Hindi)

Swami Munishanand (Prajñācakṣu) : 'Dharmakṣetra Kurukṣetra' Śabdo kā Aitihāsika Adhyayana (Hindi)

Sachdev, Pushpa : Arthabheda se Śabdebheda (Hindi)

Sudeshkumari : Rājaśekhara kī Dṛṣṭi meṁ Kāvya meṁ Satya, Śiva aura Saundarya (Hindi)

Paramārthasudhā, Paramarthanyasa, Mudahu, Ranchi (Bihar)

Vol. 4, Nos. 2-3-4, V.S. 2036-37

Satyanarayanasharma : Pratīcye Jagati Ānvīkṣikīviṣayakam Vimarśanam (Sanskrit)

Ganeshasharma : Grahasthiterjīvane Prabhāvoḥ (Sanskrit)

Bhuria, Kusum : Nāyikā—Śakuntalāyā Nāṭyaśāstrīyamadhyayanam (Sanskrit)

Pathak, Vaneshvar : Mudrārākṣasanāṭake Rājanītirjātivicāraśca (Sanskrit)

Shrihari, Arvind : Kavinām Kamalaprītiḥ (Sanskrit)

Vol. 5, No. 1, V.S. 2037

Satyanarayanasharma : Vāmanapurāṇaviṣayakam Pratīcīnaparāmarśanam (Sanskrit)

Rama, Goparajn : Granthasampādanaśāstram—Sūtrāṇi (Sanskrit)

Mishra, Vishvanath : Kālidāse Saundaryatattvam (Sanskrit)

Mishra, Rajendra : Adhunātanasamskṛta Kavitāya Mūlavṛttayāḥ (Sanskrit)

Acharya, Pattabhiramshastri : Vaidikam Gurutattvam (Sanskrit)

Pandeya, Ramashish : Mahākavi Kālidāsasya Mahāvaidikatvam (Sanskrit)

No. 2, V.S. 2037

Satyanarayanasharma : Vāmanapurāṇaviṣayakam Pratīcīnaparāmarśanam (Sanskrit)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Laksamanashastri, K. : Apohasamīkṣā - Kumārilamatena (Sanskrit)
Dvivedi, Nanheprasad : Bharatīyasāhitye Aṣṭamūrtiparicayaḥ (Sanskrit)
Pandeya, Ramashish : Niruktam Dhvaniparivartanañca (Sanskrit)
Dvivedi, Rajendraprasad : Bauddhadarśanasya Tattvasamīkṣaṇam (Sanskrit)
Pandeya, Ramashish : Mahākavi Kālidāsasya Mahāvaidikatvam (Sanskrit)

Pathway to God, Academy of Comparative Philosophy and Religion, Belgaum 11
Vol. XVI, No. 2, Jan. 1982
Chitnis, R. V : The Social and Religious Uplift of Maharashtra and Ramadasa's Contribution
Deshpande, M. S. : Spiritual Teaching of Sri Ramadas
Kulkarni, Padma : Karuṇāṣṭakas of Rāmadāsa—A Psychological Approach

Philosophy East and West, University Press of Hawaii, 2840 Kolowalu Street, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 U.S.A.
Vol. XXXI, No. 3, July 1981
Paul, Diana Y. : The Structure of Consciousness in Paramārtha's Purported Trilogy

Prabuddha Bhārata or Awakened India, Advaita Ashrama, 5 Dehi Entally Road, Calcutta 700 014
Vol. 87, No. 1, Jan. 1982
Raghavachar, S. S. : The Place of Negation in Advaita
Burke, Marie Louise : Advaita for the West

Prachya Pratibha, Journal of Prachya Niketan, Birla Institute of Art and Music, Birla Museum, Laxminarayan Giri, Bhopal 462004 (Pub. by Agam Kala Prakashan, 34 Community Centre, Ashok Vihar, Delhi 110052)
Vol. VI, No. 1, Jan. 1978
Rao (late) M. H. : Origin of Tapovana
Rao, M. : Āyudha Puruṣas in the Vaiṣṇava Images of Birla Museum
Prasad, S. N. : Studies in the Origins of the Caste Kāyastha

Purāṇa, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi
Vol. XXIII, No. 2, July 1981
Hazra, R. C. : The Historical Backgrounds of Maruts' (or Rudraś) Association with Indra and Rudra; and of the Purāṇic Story of Their Origin
Gonda, J. : Notes on Prajapati
Gangadharan, N. : Certain Geographical Concepts in the Purāṇas

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Mehta, R. N. and Kantawala, S. G. : Bhoja and Vastrāpathamāhātmya—A Re-appraisal

Singh, S. V. : The Varāhapurāṇa and the Varāha-Viṣṇu Theme in Sanskrit Poetry

Singh, Tahsildar : An Appraisal of the Data regarding Temple Architecture gleaned from Agni-purāṇa

Sāgarikā, Sagarika Samiti, Nandanagar, Varanasi 5
Vol. 20, No. 2, V.S. 2038

Upadhyaya, Ramaji : Nayakavimarśaḥ (Sanskrit)

Pandeya, Ramalakhan : Saptadaśaśatābdasya Sanskṛta Mahākāvyāni (Sanskrit)

Svādhyāya, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda
Vol. 18, No. 3, May 1981, V.S. 2037 (Akṣayatṛtīyā)

Wakankar, S. Y. : Avyayasaṅgrahanighaṇṭu of Śākalyamallubhaṭṭa (Gujarati)

Bhatt, B. D. : Samskṛta Sāhityamāṁ Rūpakakathātmaka Nāṭya Kṛtio (Gujarati)

Dave, Jayendra : Samskṛta-Adhyapananī Śāstrīya Paddhatio—Eka Abhayāsa (2) (Gujarati)

No. 4, Aug. 1981, V.S. 2037 (Janmāṣtamī)

Joshi, Lakshmesh : Śuklayajurveda Vājasaneyi-Mādhyandina-Śākhānā Viśiṣṭa Niyamo ane Uccāraṇo (Gujarati)

Bhatt, V. M. : Paribhāṣāsūtronuṁ Niyamārthatva (Gujarati)

Nanavati, Rajendra I. : Mālavikāgnimitrā-māṁ Nāyikāno Vilambita Praveśa (Gujarati)

Vediya, D. G. : Vikramorvāśīya-māṁ Avasthānirūpaṇa (Gujarati)

Pandya, Vijay : Tripurārinī Malatī-mādhava paranī Bhāvapradīpikā-Ṭikā—Eka Mulyaṅkana (Gujarati)

Shukla, Chitra & Rami, Anjana : Madanketucarita Prahasana (Gujarati)

Joshi, P. V. : Ghanaśyāma—Jīvana ane Kṛtio (Gujarati)

Shastri, Hariprasad : Samskṛta Sāhityamāṁ Itihāsa-Purāṇa ane Abhilikhita Praśastio (Gujarati)

Shelat, Bharati : Samskṛta Śabdakośasamvidhānanī Vividha Paddhatio (Gujarati)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

REVIEWS

Indian Dialectics : Methods of Philosophical Discussion, Vols. I & II, by ESTHER A. SOLOMON, Gujarat University, Pubd. by B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, pp. XV + 950, 1976, 1978, Price Rs. 120.00.

To hold *samvādas* and *sampraśnas* just like offering were the special traits of Vedic Aryans and these are said to distinguish them from the aboriginals (vide RV. VIII. 101.4). The *Nyāyadarśana* refers to *tadvidyāsamvāda* as a means of enhancing one's knowledge in the respective *śāstras* even after they are duly learnt from a Guru (NS. IV. ii. 47). The medical texts refer to the same by the term *Tadvidyāsambhāṣā*. That such a subject should receive detailed treatment is a matter of jubilation to the lovers of Indian culture.

The work under review presents in the first part pre-*dārśanika* dialectics—Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina, dialectics in the medical treatises, law books and the *Mahābhārata*, the Types of debate, the tricky devices, checks and fallacies, the *mahāvidyā* syllogism, component factors and procedures of debate.

In part II an account of the theory of inference and other *Pramāṇas*, hypothetical reasoning, its classification and other accessories are dealt with, problems of knowledge and truth follow.

In part III we get growth of dialectics in philosophical works, methodology in new logic, dialectical criticism in other branches of learning, accounts of actual debates and controversies, in philosophical, religions and legal texts followed by a resume, two appendices (on (a) *Śāstravinoda* section of Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* and (b) intrinsic and extrinsic validity of knowledge according to Abhayadeva's *Tattvabodhavidhāyinī*) and two indices.

The work thus embodies a comprehensive treatment of a vast and varied topic, materials of which come from different branches of studies—ancient, mediaeval and modern. The treatment is lucid and exhaustive. Coming as it does from the pen of one of the best authorities on the subject, having first hand knowledge of the materials concerned, the work will be an important addition to the existing literature on dialectics and will give incentive to similar studies in kindred topics.

We beg to suggest two minor points and hope they will receive consideration if and when necessary.

(1) The *Mahābhārata* has here been accepted as a work of pre-*dārśanika* period. But as almost all the *Nyāya* categories along with their subdivisions have been mentioned (some receiving detailed treatment) in the current versions of the *Mahābhārata* should it not be accepted as posterior to the *Nyāyadarśana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of which the *Mahābhārata* refers to several versions (cf. *Nyāyatantrāṇy anekāni tais tair uktāni vādibhiḥ M. Bh.* XII. 210.22).

(2) As regards the alternative explanations of the three forms of *anumāna* in *Nyāyabhāṣya* I. i. 5 several views have been discussed and uncertainty about the correct knowledge of Vatsyāyana on the topic was felt. Our suggestion here is that as the second set of explanations refers to *Vaiśeṣika* categories and quotes *Vaiśeṣika sūtras*, this is an attempt to explain the three forms of *anumāna* from the *Vaiśeṣika* point of view also over and above the one accepted in the Nyāya-school. This seems obvious because Vatsyāyana is very fond of the *Vaiśeṣika darśana* and freely quotes *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* and views in the *Nyāyabhāṣya.* After explaining the twelve kinds of *prameya* in *Nyāyabhāṣya* I.i.g. Vatsyāyana adds *asty anyad api dravyaguṇa-karma-sāmānya-viśeṣa-samavāyāḥ prameyāh.* This is nothing but predilection to the kindred school. It may be added here that all the known *Vṛttikāras* follow the first set of explanations only showing that the first set was recognised by the *Nyāyasampradāya.* The division of *anumāna* into *dṛṣta* and *sāmānyatodṛṣta* of Praśastapāda itself may be influenced by the *Nyāya* division.

These are matters of opinion and do not in any way hamper the excellence of the work under review.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

Nāgārjuna :—*Mūla* [-] *Madhyamaka* [-] *Kārikāḥ* ed. by J. W. DE JONG, The Adyar Library Series, Vol. 109, Pubd. by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras-600 020, 1977, i-vi + 1-43 [=Sanskrit Text in Roman Script] + 45-57 [*Kārikā Index*] pages ; Price (not mentioned).

As de Jong tells us, the present work is a revised edition of the Sanskrit text of Nāgārjuna's main treatise, the *Mūla-Mādhyamaka-Kārikā,* based on Louis de La Vallée Poussin's earlier edition with Candrakīrti's *Prasanna-padā* commentary [published long ago in 1903-1913 as *Bibliotheca Buddhica,* Vol. 4, and reprinted later on in 1970 by *Biblio Yerlag,* Osnabrück] and a photocopy of a hitherto unknown Nepalese manuscript of the complete *Prasannapadā* offering preferable readings of the *kārikā*-s. While Poussin could utilise three *MSS.*, which were marred by the uniform lacunae and appeared to be the copies of a common original, and the Tibetan translation, de Jong is in an advantageous position to consult the Nepalese *MS.* De Jong's fresh collation has yielded improved readings and the results of his investigation in this matter have been published in the *Indo-Iranian Journal,* Vol. 20, 1978.

Thus de Jong gives us an improved text of the *Mūla-Mādhyamaka-kārikā.* This important edition does credit both to the editor and to the Research centre.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The text has been printed very carefully. For example, < *athāpy anantavāī lokaḥ* ..... > [XXVII/21^{c}, p. 43] and < *skandhāḥ skandhān pratītyemāī loko 'nanto bhaved atha* // > [XXVII/24^{cd}, p. 43]. There are very few misprints like < *nirvāṇam* > (for *nirvāṇaṃ*) [XXV/5^{a}, p. 38 and < *vibhavasys* (for *vibhavasya* [XXV/10^{b}, p. 38].

One only wishes de Jong had given us his text-critical notes printed conveniently along with the text itself or as an Appendix to the present book.

There is also no up-to-date bibliography on the text of the *Mūla-Madhyamaka-kārikā*.

The reader also expects an exposition of the text from de Jong.

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Skt. Mss. in the Sahitya Sabha of Cooch Behar; Pubd. by The Sahitya Sabha, Ed. by D. K. KANJILAL, 1978, pp. 72, Price Rs. 10/-.

In the modern age wherein much importance has been attached to inter-disciplinary education and research, it is very difficult, any foolish, to gainsay the value of the old Mss. in Skt. As is universally accepted now, Skt. Lit. is the most rich and varied repository of Learning-religious, secular, scientific, technical etc. A close study of the extant published works as well as those that still remain in Ms. form, outnumbering the former ones, will help to understand the veracity of this statement. It may happen that some of the Mss., when brought to light, may throw some light on the social and cultural life of that period, enabling the scholar to establish important missing links of historical importance. Hence, any attempt at making the Mss. treasure known to the public-people-by way of Catalogues-descriptive or otherwise—must be commended. The book under review is also a small desc. cat. of Skt. Mss. preserved in the Sahitya Sabha of Cooch Behar.

The Mss. in the S. Sabha are from: (1) different parts of Bengal and (2) from other places outside Bengal such as Mithila, Benares. etc. Out of the 104 bound volumes, the majority of Mss. is on Grammer (46), followed by those on Smṛti (42), Tantra (38), Śravyakāvya (30), Gītā and Purāṇa (14) etc. The remaining Mss. are on lexicons, medicine, astrology, Nyāya, Mīmāmsā etc. This shows that the collection of Mss. is very rich and varied. Among the most important and valuable Mss. special mention may be made of the Mss. of Tantrapradīpa of Maitreyarakṣita, Bhāṣāvṛtyarthavṛtti of Sṛṣṭidharācārya, Kātantra-vyākarana of Sarvavarman. Durgasinha's commentary on the Kātantra-vyākarana, containing eight pādas and laying "claim to be the most authentic repository of the Kātantra Mss. available so far in India." (p. 12), the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Lalitāvṛtti of Puruṣottamadeva, Hayaśirṣapañcarātra, a work primarily on Tantra but encyclopaedic in nature, the Mantramahodadhi of Mahīdhara, the Śāntiśataka of Bilhana etc. Critical/scholarly editions of these works are eagerly awaited by Indologists. Such editions will be able to shed considerable light on the society of those periods, thus an all-covering picture of those times could be visualized.

While concluding the review, a few remarks regarding some limitations of the Cat. may be made—(1) The editor should have given the beginning and end of all the Mss. and that too not in one running continuum, as sometimes he has done; (2) Sometimes verses are printed like prose; (3) The works are not classified according to the subjects; (4) Names of the works should have been given in bold distinctive types at the beginning of each entry; (5) The Index of authors would have proved very useful along with the index of works, which is added at the end of the book. (6) The index of works at times has incorrect references, e.g. p. 71. Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa. LXII-(C), p. 51. It should be LXII-(E) p. 54.

Inspite of these shortcomings the editor and the publisher deserve compliments for bringing out this Cat. of Mss.

S. Y. WAKANKAR

The Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads : With the commentary of Śrī Upaniṣad Brahmayogin ; edited by PANDIT A. MAHADEVA SASTRI ; pubd. by The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Adyar, Madras-600020, pp. 28 + 422, Price : Rs. 60/-.

This second edition of the book is the most welcome one, because the Adyar Library and Research Centre has published therein minor Upaniṣads, which are not easily available elsewhere.

Moreover the present volume comprises also the commentary which is very useful to comprehend the text and is marked by correct and unbiased approach.

The volume consists of following *fourteen* upaniṣads :

(1) *Avyaktopaniṣat*, (2) *Kalisantaraṇopaniṣat*, (3) *Kṛṣṇopaniṣat*, (4) *Garuḍopaniṣat*, (5) *Gopālatāpinī* (*Pūrva and Uttara*), (6) *Tārasāropaniṣat*, (7) *Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣat*, (8) *Dattātreyopaniṣat*, (9) *Nārāyaṇopaniṣat*, (10) *Nṛsiṁhatāpinī* (*Pūrva* and *Uttara*), (11) *Rāmatāpinī* (*Pūrva* and *Uttara*), (12) *Rāmarahasyopaniṣat*, (13) *Vāsudevopaniṣat* and (14) *Hayagrīvopaniṣat*.

Though the compilation is of sectarian type, most of the Upaniṣads present general philosophy regarding the world, its origination, etc., the importance of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

knowledge, *Nāmajapa*, *mantras*; the form of Lord, meditation *mantras*, method of worship, eulogies, mythological stories, the *Praṇava* and its presiding deities etc. etc.

The Upaniṣads also discuss *Sākāra*, *Sopādhika* and *Nirupādhika* forms of Lord *Viṣṇu* and His various incarnations. The weapons are personified.

In short, the fourteen Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads (enumerated above) are on the theme of *Jñānabhaktimārga*. The Higher Reality (*Parabrahman*) is Lord *Viṣṇu* whence springs up the universe and gets all universal acts done. Often it is declared that knowing Him and worshipping Him with homages, day-to-day recitations and *mantras*,—the devotee gets *padaprāpti*.

The editor has also given subjectwise headings to the text. The commentator has explained the difficult and confusing passages of the text. His etymologies of the words like *Kṛṣṇa* etc. are interesting (*Kṛṣiśabdena Kalir ucyate, taṁ....niśśeṣaṁ muṣṇāti.. iti Kṛṣṇaḥ*, p. 19).

The importance of the volume is enhanced by the indices of the proper names and of technical words.

Such a scholarly edited book should be in all libraries and in personal collections.

The publishers deserve compliments for fine printing as well as beautiful binding.

J. A. JANI

Early English Travellers in India : by RAM CHANDRA PRASAD, pubd. by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Second Revised Edition, 1980, pp. xxxii+382, Plates 17, Price Rs. 90/-.

This is a study in the Travel Literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Periods with particular reference to India. The author has chosen for his study the English travellers like Thomas Stephens, Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, Thomas Roe, Thomas Coryat, William Finch, Nicholas Withington, Edward Terry and Henry Lord. They have visited India between 1579 and 1630. Their travel accounts have a great literary and historical value for many reasons. The common English-man found in the narratives of travel a romantic literature and a call to personal adventure. Through these travel accounts accessions were made to the English language of many Arabic, Persian and Hindi words. These narratives throw considerable light on the history of India under the great Mughals.

Father Thomas Stephens was the first Englishman known to have settled in India. He was the first Anglo-Indian poet. He has written the Christian

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Purāṇa in Marathi language [pp. 1-15]. Ralph Fitch has described some of the prominent social and religious practices like Sati, childmarriage and polygamy. [pp. 54-61]. John Mildenhall was the first English traveller to give a lively picture of the court of Akbar, the great Mughal [pp. 73-79]. The accounts of William Hawkins and Thomas Roe are very important for they throw a great light on the character, court and administration of Jahangir, the Mughal Emperor. William Finch was the first English writer to use the words of Indian origin like 'Mohol' [Mahal, Palace], 'Dew' [Deva, God], 'Peally' [Pyāli, cup] etc. Some of the Indian words used by him have become naturalised in the English language and have been used by various English writers from time to time [pp. 211-216). Nicholas Withington was the first English traveller to throw useful light on the social and economic conditions of Sind [pp. 252-264].

The early English travellers had their own limitations also. Their knowledge of India and her people was to a great extent superficial. They were not always in a position to varify or test the accuracy of what they were told. Thomas Coryat has described that in Delhi he had seen a brass pillar erected by Alexander commemorating his victory over Porus [p. 185]. But it is a historical fact that Alexander did not fight with Porus at Delhi, nor did he set up a pillar there. According to Edward Terry, the Pathans took their denomination from a province in the kingdom of Bengala [p. 307]. Henry Lord has described the *Vaiśyas* as Hindu mechanics and the *Śūdras* as merchants [p. 319].

The Author has done a thorough study of the personalities as well as of the observations of the early English travellers. He has given many quotations from their works, summarised the more lengthy portions and discussed the accuracy of their observations in the light of recent studies. He has shown the skills and resources of the historian and the literary critic.

This book will be useful to the scholars who are interested in the history of India under the great Mughals. It will be also useful to those who are interested in the travel literature of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods with particular reference to India.

M. K. BAPAT

Vicāra Aura Vivecana by VAMAN KESHAV LELE, Pubd. by Chaukhambā Rāṣṭrabhāratī Granthamālā; Vārāṇasī, Prathama Saṁskaraṇa, 1979, pp. 154, Price : Rs. 15-00.

'*Vicāra Aura Vivecana*' is a collection of studied articles which lucidly discuss the problems mainly concerned with Indian Poetics. The articles published in various literary periodicals in Marathi language are here rendered in Hindi translations by the author himself. The articles are testimony of the uptodate scholarship of the author in the subject dealt with.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Indian Poetics is available originally in Sanskrit language as we already know. In present times the attitude and the aptitude towards Sanskrit language prevailing in the universities are certainly very much disappointing. It is a matter of anxiety for the Sanskrit scholars that the future generation would be cut off perhaps from the study of such deep-pondered classic studies. It becomes, therefore, the holy duty of the existing Sanskrit scholars in the poetics to avail of the authentic translations, annotations etc. of the core works in Indian poetics. Dr. Lele, the author of the said work has attempted in this direction and hence the work is most welcome.

Indian poetics covers the span of about two thousand years. Dr. Lele has critically viewed the whole range and creditably pointed out the limitation of the works in general. This issue has been discussed in the chapter '*Sanskṛta Kāvya-śāstraviṣayaka eka Samasyā*'. Why the theories propounded in the Indian poetics are not found applied thoroughly to any creative work, is the principal argument of Dr. Lele. We are aware of the fact that the mode of criticism in Sanskrit at that time was of annotation type. The analytical methods would be seen well adopted but segmental studies apart, the complete study of a work as a whole is never brought out by the Indian poetics. I, therefore, agree with the observation made here by the author.

The articles '*Ācārya Bhāmaha Aura Sāhitya-Samīkṣā Ke Mūla Tattva*', '*Daṇḍī Kā Kāvyalakṣaṇa: eka Adhyayana*', '*Kāvyaśāstrakāra Vāmana Kā Maulika Cintana*', '*Rājaśekharavarṇita Kaviyon Ke Prakāra*', '*Prācīna Sāhityakā Vāda*' and '*Kṣemendra Kī Samīkṣāśailī*' discuss the theories respectively of Ācārya Bhāmaha, Daṇḍī, Vāmana, Rājaśekhara and Kṣemendra. A few steps of evolution of the various concepts of poetry can be studied by the students themselves with the help of such articles as they are discussing the core texts of the Indian poetics so lucidly and analytically. For the comprehensive group of the texts also, the articles are useful.

The concept of *Bhāvika Alaṁkāra* is discussed in a separate article. Dr. Lele has taken into account the concepts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍī and Udbhaṭa focussing the evolution of the concept of *Bhāvika* and it is a point to be appreciated.

In the article '*Sāhityakāron Ke Maunamen Sāhitya Saundarya*', Dr. Lele is accepting and aptly advocating the school of Ānandavardhana. The soul of poetry or the beauty of poetry lies in suggestive meaning of the work of poetry was the theory of Ānandavardhana. Following this theory Dr. Lele has lucidly explained the beauty of poetry with illustrative examples from the '*Rāmāyaṇa*', '*Pratimā*', '*Hanumannāṭaka*', '*Raghuvaṁśa*' (Sanskrit works) and 'Tolyacē Bandha (Marathi work).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The article viz. '*Bhāṣika Samasyā: Śodha Tathā Bodha*' preferably touches socio-political and education oriented problem rather than a literary criticism. In the past we have faced the movements on the problems of language provincialism and that has been the cause of this article. Dr. Lele is fully correct in his opinion that to fetch integrity amongst the countrymen of India, we should have inter-literary studies encouraged with great zeal.

The regional students who are ignorant of the Sanskrit language and unaware of the methods of the theoretical works would certainly benefit with the studies of such works. Dr. Lele's success can be witnessed in his typical lucid and analytical expression of the subject discussed.

SUBHASH M. DAVE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *Abhinavagupta And His Works :* By V. Raghavan, Pubd. by Chaukhamba Orientalia, P.O. Chaukhamba, P.B. No. 32, Gokul Bhawan, K. 37/109, Gopal Mandir Lane, Varanasi-221 001, pp. 192, Price : Rs. 75-00.
2. *Studies in Indian Philosophy :* Ed. by Dalsukh Malvania and Nagin J. Shah, Pubd. by The Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380 009, pp. xxii + 324, Price : Rs. 60-00.
3. *Ardhakathānak, Half a Tale :* By Mukund Lath, Pubd. by Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, M.S.B. Ka Rasta, Jaipur-2, pp. lxxvi + 276, Price : Rs. 150-00.
4. *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy (Vol. I) :* By K. G. Krishnan, Pubd. by New Era Publications, 9, Second Main Road, Post Box No. 2459, Madras-600 028, pp. viii + 184, Price : Rs. 70-00.
5. मल्लिनाथमनीषा : Ed. and Pubd. by P. G. Lalye, Head, Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad, pp. 164, Price : Rs. 30-00.
6. *The Rāmāyaṇa in Pahari Miniature Painting :* By Jutta Jain-Neubauer, Pubd. by The Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380-009, pp. 58 + 63 Art Plates, Price : Rs. 108-00.
7. *The Picturebook Rāmāyaṇa (An Illustrated Version of Vālmīki's Story) :* By H. Daniel Smith, Pubd. by the Director, Foreign & Comparative Studies Programme, Syracuse University, 119, College Place, Syracus, New York-13210, pp. xlii + 170, Price : $ 13-00.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

8. *Prakrit Narrative Literature-Origin and Growth :* By Jagdishchandra Jain, Pubd. by M/s. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Post Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055, pp. xii + 240, Price : Rs. 65-00.

9. *Gadhyakarṇāmṛta :* By S. S. Janaki, Pubd. by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras-600 004, pp. xiv + 148 + viii + 106 + xxii, Price : Rs. 40-00.

10. *Mm. Professor Kuppuswami Sastri Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume:* Ed. and Pubd. as above, pp. xiii + 228 + xlviii, Price : Not Printed.

11. *Medicine :* G. U. Thite, Pubd. by A. A. Kulkarni, Continental Prakashan, Vijaynagar, Poona-30, pp. 10 + 254, Price : Rs. 6-00.

12. *The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras (Silver Jubilee Volume) :* Ed. by S. S. Janaki, Pubd. by the Director, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras-600 004, pp. xxiv + 180, Price : Rs. 25-00.

13. भाति मे भारतम् : By Ramakant Shukla, Pubd. by Deva Vani Parishad, 6, Vani-Vihar, New Delhi-110 056, pp. 122, Price : Rs. 40-00.

14. *Bhāṭṭārkaḥ :* Gen. Ed. G. C. Tripathi, by Anant Tryambak Pingle, Pubd. by the Director, Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Motilal Nehru Park, Allahabad-2, pp. 8 + 126, Price : Not Printed.

15. *Evolution of Industries and Industrialisation in Primordial Tamil Nadu :* by G. Kuppuram, pubd. by Asstt. Secretary, Tamil Nadu Historical Studies Congress, Tiruchirapalli, Tamil Nadu, pp. 8, Price : Rs. 10-00.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda

The Journal is published every year in three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to topics relating to (1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences and (3) Science.

Advertisement tariff will be sent on request

Communications pertaining to the Journal should be addressed to :

The Editor (Humanities/Social Sciences/Science)
Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda
Faculty of Arts Compound
Baroda-390 002 (India)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

OUR NEW RELEASES

	Rs.
Discipline : The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapitaka—John C. Holt	50
Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies—Karl H. Potter	
Vol. I : Bibliography 2nd rev. edn.	250
Vol. II : Introduction to the Philosophy of Nyaya Vaisesika	150
Vol. III : Advaita Vedanta. Part I	175
Fragments from Dinnaga—H. N. Randle	40
Fullness of the Void—Rohit Mehta	85 (Cloth) 60 (Paper)
Global History of Philosophy 3 Vols—John C Plott.	195
Hindu Philosophy—Theos Bernard	50 (Cloth) 30 (Paper)
History and the Doctrines of the Ajivikas—A. L. Basham	75
History of the Dvaita School of Vedanta—B. N. K. Sharma	200
History of Indian Literature Vol. I—M. Winternitz	100
History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy—B. Barua	125
Indian Sculpture—Stella Kramrisch	60
J. Krishnamurti and the Nameless Experience—Rohit Mehta	55 (Cloth) 45 (Paper)
Language and Society-Michael C. Shapiro and Harold F. Schiffman	130
Life of Eknath—Justin E. Abbott.	50 (Cloth) 35 (Paper)
Madhyamaka Buddhism: A Comparative Study—Mark Macdowell	50
Nyaya Sutras of Gotama—Tr. by Nand Lal Sinha	50
Peacock Throne : The Drama of Mogul India—Waldemar Hansen	120
Philosophy of Nagarjuna—K. D. Prithipaul	65
Prapancasara Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon	100 (Cloth) 75 (Paper)
Select Inscriptions. Vol. II—D. C. Sircar	200
Serindia 5 Vols—Sir Aurel Stein	3000
Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in India Mythology—Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty	100
Siksha Samuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine—Cecil Bendall & W.H.D. Rouse	60
Suresvara on Yajnavalkya—Maitreyi Dialogue (Brhadaranyakopanisad 2 : 4 and 4 : 5)—Shoun Hino	125
Tantraraja Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon. & Lakshaman Shastri	120 (Cloth) 100 (Paper)
Vedic Mythology, 2 Vols—Alfred Hillebrandt; tr. by Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma	220

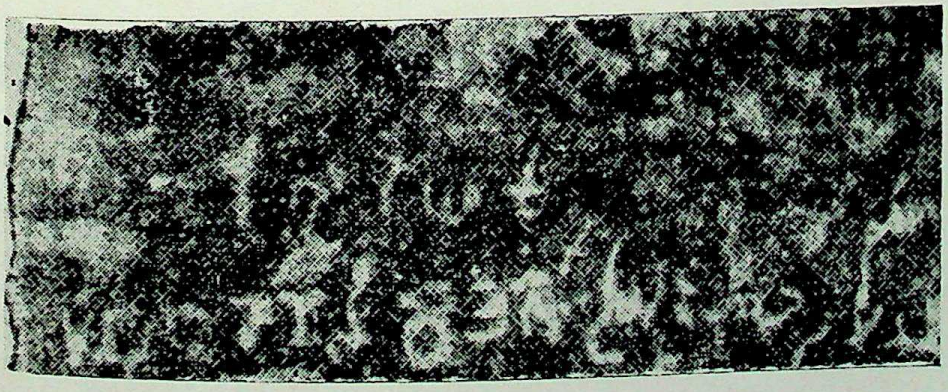
For Detailed Catalogue, please write to :—

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007 (India)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Fig. 2
Kumbhāriā : Kumbheśvara Temple (pīṭha and maṇḍovara)
[*Vide :* Harihar Singh's paper]



Enlargements of last two lines of Inscription from Wandh, Kutch
[*Vide :* H. D. Sankalia's paper]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

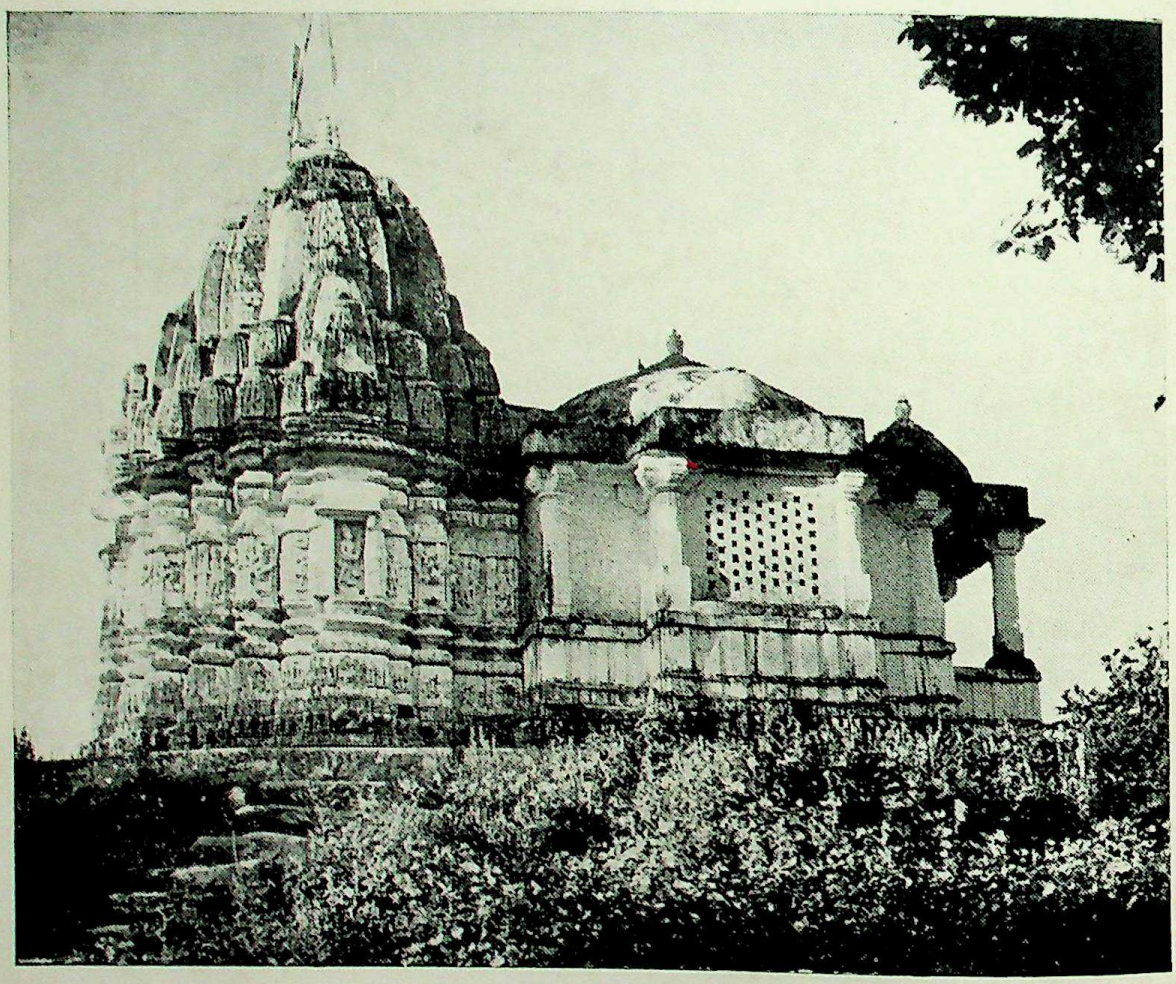


Fig. 1
Kumbhāriā : Kumbheśvara Temple
(General view from South)
[*Vide :* Harihar Singh's Paper]